The German Tribune

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Bonn looks to closer relations with Brazil

Brazilian President Ernesto Geisel's state visit to Bonn is unusual in several respects, not least because it is the first state visit to Germany by a Brazilian head of state since Emperor Pedro II called on the Kaiser in Berlin in 1877.

President Geisel's party includes six Ministers, eighty-odd business experts and ninety-odd journalists.

The Bonn government has high hopes of cooperation with a Brazil which has progressed both economically and in domestic and foreign policy.

It is keenly aware that Brazil has started a programme of cautious democratisation, and the authorities are worried that demonstrations against undeniable human rights violations in Brazil may interrupt a process in which the Brazilian President evidently has a leading role.

The Bonn government, while not shouting the fact, very much hopes to encourage and consolidate this role.

Ernesto Geisel, 70, a regular officer and the son of German immigrants, is known in Brazil as the Prussian. His country is the fifth-largest in the world and one of the richest in natural resources.

The 113 million Brazilians make up a third of the population of South America. Their per capita income is reckoned to be $1,300, with further increases in the offing as the Brazilian boom goes on.

Cooperation with Bonn in nuclear power development should prove a cornerstone of Brazil's economic development, another quiet but important aspect of the visit.

By a contract signed on 27 June 1975 this country is to supply Brazil with eight nuclear power stations, a uranium enrichment plant and a processing unit for spent nuclear fuel.

The DM12,000 million deal is the largest export agreement this country has ever clinched. Despite Soviet and US opposition it came into force in 1976.

Business as usual is the watchword, and Bonn hopes this will continue in future. This is what President Geisel will be told.

Trade between the two countries has its difficulties. A variety of tariff barriers has pruned exports to Brazil from DM2,900 million in 1975 to DM2,200 million last year, whereas imports from Brazil increased from DM2,200 to DM2,600 million.

Because of capital exports to Brazil totalling DM4,100 million at the end of 1977 Bonn is in the black all told, however.

This country appreciates that Brazil feels it has no option but to impose trade barriers because of its high inflation. But free trade cannot be a one-way traffic.

If Brazil insists on the Common Market pursuing more liberal trade policies it must be prepared to open its doors.

The current trade agreement with the EEC expires on 1 August, adding point to President Geisel's visit. Lastly Brazil can claim an important role in world affairs. It is a threshold power with enormous prestige in the Third World. Brazil is one of the spokesmen of the Group of 77 at the UN. Its foreign policy is described as one of responsible pragmatism. Cooperation rather than confrontation is a policy the two countries have in common. Many recent developments will be discussed during the visit — the special session of the UN General Assembly on disarmament, the North-South dialogue, the crises in Africa. The Brazilian leader conferred twice with President Scheel and held lengthy talks with Chancellor Schmidt. His Foreign, Finance, Industry and Energy Ministers met with their opposite numbers in Bonn, Hans-Dietrich Genscher, Hans Matthöfer, Volker Hauff and Rainer Offergeld.

The delegation visited Cologne, Baden-Württemberg and North Rhine-Westphalia, including the nuclear research centres at Karlsruhe and Jülich.

Bonn is particularly pleased that President Geisel visited Berlin, like his Imperial predecessor. A dinner was given in his honour at Charlottenburg castle on 9 March by West Berlin Mayor Dietrich Stobbe.

Heinzgünter Klein

(Der Tagesspiegel, 4 March 1978)



President Walter Scheel welcomes Brazilian President Ernesto Geisel to Bonn, the first visit by a Brazilian head of state since 1877. (Photo: dpa)





UN conference

Minister of Justice Dr Hans-Jochen Vogel opening the United Nations conference on maritime freight rates in Hamburg, the first UN conference to be held in the Federal Republic of Germany. (Photo: Marianne von der Lancken)

Genscher sums up on Africa

DER TAGESSPIEGEL

Bonn Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher feels his visit to Tanzania, Burundi and Rwanda has been a success.

After meeting the heads of state of the three countries Herr Genscher said in Klagalim, Rwanda, that African countries would welcome Bonn playing an active part in bringing about a peaceful settlement of Africa disputes.

The major objectives of Bonn's policy in Africa had been confirmed, he said. They are to contribute to a peaceful settlement of conflicts in Africa, to continue to aid African economic development and to consolidate African political and economic independence.

Asked about Soviet and Cuban activity in the Horn of Africa, Herr Genscher said that a country associated with detente in Europe was bound to appreciate that detente was indivisible and its principles universal.

He sounded a note of cautious optimism on Namibia, saying it would be wrong to claim that the prospects of a peaceful settlement had improved. "Prospects have been confirmed," he said.

In his talks with President Nyerere of Tanzania, Colonel Bagaza of Burundi and Major-General Habyarimana of Rwanda, Foreign Minister Genscher learnt that all three African leaders back the West's UN Security Council bid to bring about a Namibia settlement.

Herr Genscher gave an assurance that independent Namibia would find Bonn an understanding and helpful partner. The future governments of Namibia and Zimbabwe must, he said, be based on free elections including all population groups.

dpa

(Der Tagesspiegel, 4 March 1978)

VIEWPOINT

Neutron bomb: Bonn keeps safety catch on its opinions

The neutron bomb is no panacea, says US Defence Secretary Harold Brown, but neither is there any special reason to be worried by it. It is merely a useful addition to the West's tactical nuclear defence potential.

Western Europe in general and this country in particular are far from sharing such a level-headed view, but there would no longer appear to be any immediate danger of impassioned condemnation or uproar.

The neutron bomb does not seem to have stirred public feeling as did the Ban the Bomb movement 20 years ago or the more recent campaign against nuclear power stations.

The Bonn government is taking good care not to upset anyone. It has next to nothing to say on the subject, is treading on no-one's toes and hopes to steer clear of both domestic and foreign trouble.

The only risk Bonn runs is upsetting President Carter, still waiting for America's allies to speak out on the neutron bomb.

Bonn government spokesman Klaus Bölling merely says that the Federal government is in favour of using all opportunities for arms control talks, especially in view of the arms build-up in the East, before actually deploying the neutron bomb in Europe.

As to whether or not the neutron ~~bomb ought to be developed and man-~~ufactured, Bonn says this decision rests solely with the US government.

This low-key approach decreed by Chancellor Schmidt is not unproblematic. It is an attempt to soft-pedal and manage the neutron bomb debate so as to ensure that Bonn neither jeopardises domestic goodwill nor takes irrevocable security policy decisions.

But the only way Bonn can sustain these tactics is by persistently avoiding the issue and steering clear of an answer to President Carter's query to Nato countries whether to go ahead and manufacture the neutron bomb.

Yet it seems reasonable to assume that Bonn does not object to the manufacture of the bomb and will not, should the occasion arise, object to it being deployed in this country.

Bonn merely wants to retain a free hand, at least formally, whereas Washington objects to taking sole responsibility for the decision. What the US wants is for its Nato allies to endorse the neutron bomb from the outset.

Defence Secretary Brown must have anticipated Europe's reluctance to reach a decision when he noted at the December Nato summit in Brussels that "If weapons of this kind are not to be brought to Europe we should have to consider matters very carefully before deciding whether or not to go ahead."

By the end of the Brussels gathering he was even more explicit, pointing out that "we don't want to end up manufacturing the neutron bomb only to learn that our allies have decided against allowing it to be based in Europe; any announcement on manufacture must be followed by a statement on where the device is to be deployed."

This remains the case. The only change is that Bonn (and everyone else, for that matter) is even more reluctant to give America a straight answer.

Several reasons are advanced: domestic difficulties, military doubts and even the Soviet propaganda campaign.

But the fact remains that the recent economic differences between Washington and Bonn may now be followed by a clash over the neutron bomb.

Yet the bomb was developed because of a general desire by Nato in general and this country in particular for a spectacular deterrent to counteract the alarming increase in Soviet tank capacity in the GDR.

The neutron bomb, specially suited to knock out tank columns, is envisaged as politically eliminating the military imbalance in Central Europe.

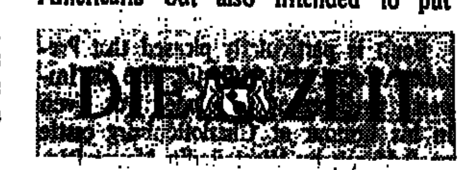
What is more, the West Germans in particular have for years clamoured for 'clean' nuclear weapons.

Will President Carter be satisfied with half-hearted, implicit approval of the deployment of neutron bombs in Europe, which means mostly this country?

Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher is evidently more alarmed at the prospect of a clash within Nato than other members of the Bonn Cabinet. But as on so many occasions in the past he seems to have felt that tactical moves would be enough to solve serious political problems.

Herr Genscher, who leads the Free Democrats, junior partners in Helmut Schmidt's Bonn coalition of Social and Free Democrats, persuaded the FDP parliamentary party to approve a resolution backing the neutron bomb.

He not only hoped to reassure the Americans but also intended to put



pressure on the Social Democrats, decidedly less enthusiastic about the bomb.

SPD business manager Egon Bahr termed the neutron bomb an "intellectual perversion" when it first hit the headlines, and this condemnation, while not thought through to its logical conclusion, has threatened to look like total resistance.

But Herr Genscher's bid failed. He underrated the ideological importance of the neutron bomb to the FDP, with the rank and file failing to see a clear-cut distinction between opposition to nuclear power and opposition to nuclear weapons systems.

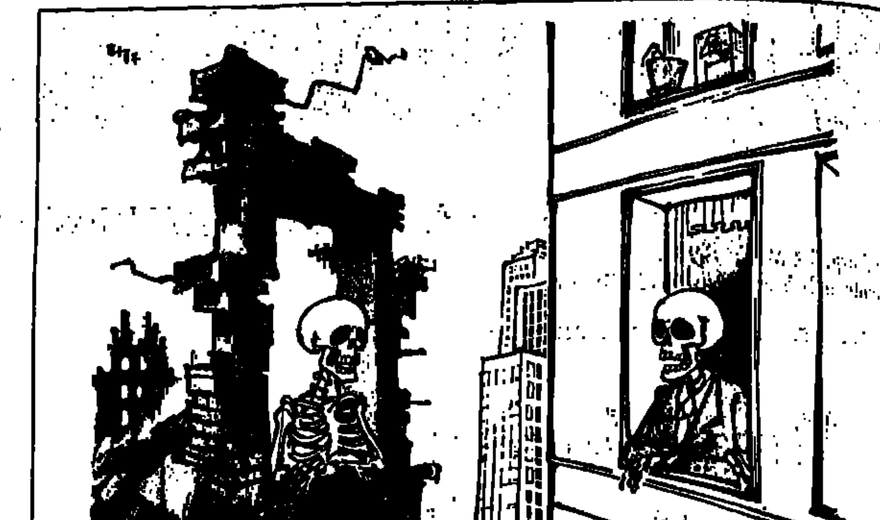
He also failed to appreciate the determination of the Social Democratic leadership to avoid a parliamentary party ruling in the wake of last November's Hamburg party conference.

SPD leaders were keen to avoid the unpredictable outbursts of party opinion such a ruling might bring and equally determined to oblige FDP leader Genscher to pursue a more moderate course.

The Free Democrats' resolve was scaled down to conditional approval of deployment of the neutron bomb in this country and a recommendation to consider including the neutron bomb on the arms limitation agenda.

The Christian Democrats, the Opposition in Bonn, are unanimously and unconditionally in favour of equipping Nato with the bomb.

This testifies to cohesion within CDU/CSU ranks on security, but it exaggerates differences between government and Opposition on the issue.



"Do you find the neutron bomb more humane?" (Cartoon: Horst Haitzinger/Nordwest Zeitung)

The Social Democrats' Egon Bahr is no longer implacably opposed to the neutron bomb. He now advises the government to keep its options open:

"The neutron bomb should be used to get arms limitation agreements moving."

These domestic manoeuvres tally with Chancellor Schmidt's foreign policy objectives. In view of the Soviet diatribes against the bomb Bonn cannot afford to appear cowed. But Helmut Schmidt will not want ties with the Soviet Union to deteriorate further with Mr Brezhnev due to visit Bonn.

Besides, the UN is due to discuss disarmament in May and no pressure-sensitive statesman, last of all the head of government in Bonn, wants to appear a dichard advocate of even more effective nuclear aims.

Anyone who did so would lay himself wide open to Third World accusations of squandering resources.

What is more, suspicions persist that President Carter wants America's allies in Europe to call explicitly for the neutron bomb in order not to prejudice the US bargaining position at the Salt talks.

Yet for domestic as much any other reasons no European government would like to be the first to endorse any such call. It is a lamentable state of affairs and inconceivable before Mr Carter took over at the White House.

Britain's James Callaghan, referring to the neutron bomb at Westminster, was careful to avoid saying whether the West ought to go ahead and manufacture it.

Instead he sarcastically dismissed Soviet propaganda, accusing Moscow of launching its campaign to distract attention from its own nuclear arms programme.

Soviet nuclear weaponry, Mr Callaghan said was far more devastating than the neutrom bomb — especially the SS 20 missiles aimed at Western Europe.

America's European allies may be playing for time until the next Nato summit in Washington at the end of May, but the problems the neutron bomb entails will not changes.

Is the neutron bomb a diabolical product of fiendish human imagination gone wrong? The question will continue to be asked.

Unlike conventional tactical nuclear warheads the neutron bomb reduces to ten per cent the effect of the nuclear holocaust on non-military targets and the environment.

It may be tailor-made to knock out military targets in densely-populated areas, but "cleanliness" makes it none the less deadly.

The Soviet Union has nothing to rival this miniature hydrogen bomb, which may even nullify its ability to launch a surprise attack despite the Warsaw Pact tank superiority.

This loss of military power and the ability to put political pressure on Western Europe has prompted the Soviet campaign against the neutron bomb, from Mr Brezhnev's note to the warning sounded by Soviet Defence Minister Dmitri Ustinov.

Even so, the military priority of offsetting the Soviet Union's three-to-one tank supremacy in Central Europe must not necessarily override strategic and security policy misgivings.

Will the risk of a nuclear confrontation increase once neutron bombs are available to wreak less destruction than their predecessors?

Is the deterrent effect more credible because the use of neutron bombs is more readily conceivable than the threat of escalation to full-scale nuclear war using the current weapons with their incomparably greater potential for destruction? Political decisions are fairly unlikely to be taken on the basis of considerations such as these. Western governments tend to agree with the Pentagon that the neutron bomb is nothing special and thus does not pose questions of nuclear strategy in any way fundamentally new.

Politicians are concentrating instead on hopes of using the neutron bomb as a bargaining counter in arms limitation talks. Experience shows that any such bid is doomed to failure as long as the new weapon only exists on paper.

America and Russia were unable to agree on limitation and subsequent reduction of anti-missile systems until they had both spent enormous amounts of money on convincing themselves that ABMs did not live up to expectations.

It was much the same with MIRVs. Talks on restrictions did not start until both sides had stockpiled them.

Yet America's decision not to make

Continued on page 7

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HOME AFFAIRS

Helmut Kohl sees a way out of Opposition wilderness



Bonn Opposition leader Helmut Kohl is a happy man these days, convinced the lean years are over. Last year is past history, he told Christian Democratic Bundestag MPs at a meeting in the Berlin Reichstag building.

He would squash any attempt to turn the clock back, the 47-year-old CDU leader told his parliamentary party. Helmut Kohl was a changed man.

In Mainz as Rhineland-Palatinate premier from 1969 to 1976 he used to be domineering, self-assured, sure of victory and always ready for a challenge.

In his early political career he was one of the most spectacular whizzkids since the war. But as Opposition leader in Bonn he seemed plagued by self-doubt, a shadow of his former self.

He was certainly forced to don the mantle of a parliamentary Hamlet, vacillating before an alternative on which he had little influence.

The problem was that while spearheading the Opposition, he had to try to court the Free Democrats, junior partners in Chancellor Schmidt's ruling coalition, and the quandary seemed to change Helmut.

Another problem, the relationship between his own CDU, which contests elections everywhere but in Bavaria, and Franz Josef Strauss's Christian Social Union (usually dubbed the Bavarian branch of the Bonn Opposition) has proved even more of a teaser.

At a party conference in Bad Kreuth the CSU threatened to contest elections all over the country.

CDU leader Helmut Kohl concluded an armistice in which the previous CDU/CSU parliamentary party seemed to have been transformed into an Opposition coalition.

To maintain Opposition unity Herr Kohl had to swallow his pride so often that he found it extremely difficult to symbolise the unity that was his objective. He seems to have regained a clear view of the position (and the freedom to manoeuvre he so badly needed) from the sessions of the CDU-CSU long-term policy committee and from a *Der Spiegel* interview with Franz Josef Strauss.

The Bavarian leader told the Hamburg news magazine that he regarded cooperation between the CDU and the CSU in the Bundestag as a kind of coalition.

Maybe Helmut Kohl has concluded that Herr Strauss intends to go nationwide sooner or later, come what may. The CSU will certainly not be doing so before the October elections to the Bavarian state assembly and will probably not go it alone before the New Year.

Polls indicate that the CSU will notch up 60 per cent or so again this October, and Herr Strauss's party is unlikely to jeopardise this showing by breaking prematurely with the CDU.

Observers also note that Franz Josef Strauss has a fairly regular annual rhythm and November and December are the critical months.

Franz Josef Strauss will have to accustom himself to the appointments and regular obligations of Bavarian premier from October on, something not likely to be much to his liking.

By the year's end he is sure to be chafing at the bit, eager not to miss the action in the runner-up to a general election year.

The likelihood is of a crisis in ties between the CDU and the CSU towards the end of this year, followed by a possible split at the beginning of next.

That is unless crucial changes occur in Bonn, and the prospects of change have improved not only because of recent strain within the Social and Free Democratic coalition's ranks but also in view of the threat of a rift between the Opposition parties.

Foreign Minister Genscher, the Free Democrat leader, may be reluctant to take decisions but there is one party-political equation that he is bound to accept.

Were the CDU and the CSU to campaign separately all over the country in the next general election, between them, as matters stand (and their showing in polls has proved consistent) they would gain an absolute majority in the Bundestag.

Whether, in view of their previous rift, they would join forces again to form a government remains to be seen.

But whatever happens the Free Democrats would forfeit their position as the tail that wags the dog, the party whose backing makes the difference between a minority and a majority for either of the other two.

In all probability the FDP will be unable to provide either the SPD or the CDU with a majority, especially as the Social Democrats might lose votes to an ecological party.

The Free Democrats would be out of the limelight, on the outside looking in, as they will recall from their days in Opposition between 1966 and 1969.

If Hans-Dietrich Genscher wants to rescue his party from this disastrous prospect he will have to pull out of the FDP's unhappy coalition with the Social Democrats.

The signs are that he appreciates his lack of choice. FDP party conference has been postponed from June to November — a month after the CDU conference in Ludwigshafen, Herr Kohl's old stamping ground.

The Free Democrats reasons for the



Faces in a changing political landscape: Hans-Dietrich Genscher and Helmut Kohl (Photo: J. H. Darchinger)

postponement are half-baked. A possible switch of allegiance is a more likely motive.

Voting for head of state, which foreshadowed the change of coalition allegiances in 1969, is unlikely to play more than a minor role next year.

Many Christian Democrats would undoubtedly welcome Walter Scheel being re-election for another five-year term, but as long as the SPD and the FDP share power in Bonn the CDU is sure to nominate its own candidate.

No matter how poorly the Bonn Opposition fares in this year's state assembly elections (and the CDU and CSU are much more likely to fare extremely well), the CDU-CSU will command a majority in the electoral college.

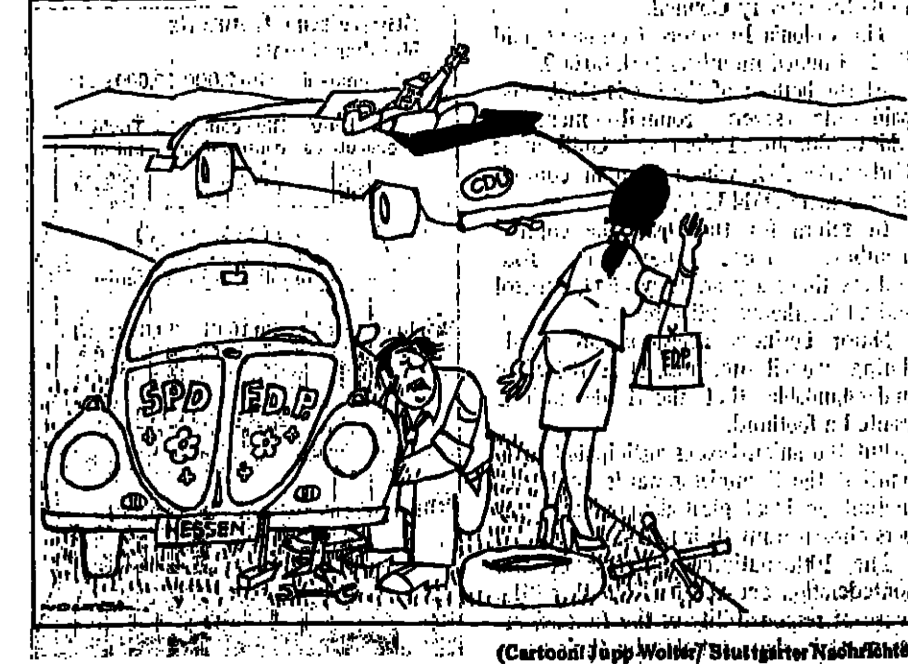
In Hamburg, where there is an SPD-FDP coalition, the Free Democrats are likely to be the losers this June, while the Christian Democrats will at least hold their own.

In Lower Saxony, where voting is on 4 June, the signs point to an absolute majority for the CDU rather than any improvement for either the Social or Free Democrats. The FDP might pick up the odd point.

In Hesse Social Democratic premier Holger Börner has succeeded in preventing an SPD rout at the polls, but the Christian Democrats seem likely to come so close to an absolute majority that the FDP will give second thoughts to maintaining a coalition with the SPD with a wafer-thin majority.

What is more, school legislation in Hesse may clinch the outcome in the CDU's favour.

In Bavaria the CSU is unlikely to come within striking distance of a two-thirds majority again, but its majority is sure to be spectacular.



(Cartoon: Jupp Wolter/Stuttgarter Nachrichten)

The options open to Herr Strauss have not increased either. His hopes of sealing Helmut Kohl's fate as Opposition leader in Bonn before the state assembly elections have been dashed.

Franz Josef Strauss is an astute observer and cannot have failed to notice that Herr Kohl has gained ground. Kohl is now almost as adept as his Bavarian rival at the tricks of the trade in Bonn.

What is more, the CDU leader is a harder parliamentary worker in Bonn and spends more of his time there.

Herr Strauss has failed to capitalise on opportunities of establishing the CSU as a national party. Attempts by potential allies to launch a fourth major party have made no headway.

So the CSU can only hope to make ground by setting up branches outside Bavaria — which the CDU could hardly be expected to view with equanimity.

The CSU would have to canvass support among CDU dissidents. These turncoats are unlikely to be good material. What is more, the CSU would have to shed its Bavarian image and try to be more representative of the whole country.

These trends are sure to fuel aggression and lead to political extremes. A self-assured majority party would be transformed into an extremist minority.

The party-political landscape would be transformed, a prospect which Free Democrat Hans-Dietrich Genscher can hardly view with pleasure.

In view of such far-reaching changes (or their prospect) and the fact that the Social and Free Democratic coalition is surely coming apart Helmut Kohl hopes the FDP will decide that it has no option but to throw in its lot with the CDU.

Herr Kohl certainly no longer seems obliged to take heed of the Free Democrats as his coalition partners-to-be or to worry about Bavarian foot-dragging.

He may well have given up hope of the fair personal treatment for which he once hoped from Munich.

Helmut Kohl has started on a path of his own in Bonn — nearly 18 months after burning his boats in the Rhineland-Palatinate.

Both the party executive and the parliamentary party have registered the change with surprise and pleasure. The new-look Helmut Kohl is very much in favour with his CDU rank and file.

Ludolf Herrmann

(Deutsche Zeitung, 3 March 1978)

■ INDUSTRY

Labour, capital play tense poker game over wages

Judge Helmut Horn, the mediator in the dispute between *IG Metall* (the metalworkers union) and the employers, had no sooner put his proposals on paper than they were scrapped.

Franz Steinkühler, the district head of the Stuttgart *IG Metall*, rejected the proposed 4.8 per cent wage increase as too low. Heinz Dürr, the employers' negotiator, rejected it as too high.

*A day later, mediation in Northrhine-*Westphalia also broke down.

The poker game about the wages of 3.6 million metalworkers, the most important round of collective bargaining for German industry, is now entering a decisive phase.

Thousands of millions of deutschmarks are at stake. *IG Metall* alone must expect to pay 500 million deutschmarks in case of a three-week strike in Baden-Württemberg and Northrhine-Westphalia. The union is making preparations for a rank and file vote on the issue. The countdown has begun.

Employers and union bosses minced no words in their latest talks. There is growing evidence that the only way the dispute can be summed up is: *Rien ne va plus.*

It began when the Confederation of German Trade Unions decided not to participate in Concerted Action (a body essentially composed of representatives of government, labour and industry) after the employers had filed suit at the Constitutional Court questioning the constitutionality of the Co-determination Act.

This decision was reiterated at the metalworkers' rally.

Ever since, there has been a spate of broken-down negotiations between labour and management:

- A verbal agreement between Baden-Württemberg's *IG Metall* and the employers over wages for piecework failed to materialise;
- The printers' union contract with management over the introduction of electronic typesetting failed because it was rejected by the union's executive. *This has led to strikes,* and *many newspapers will be unable to report them because they will not be printed;*
- In the dispute between the construction workers' union and management the employers turned down a mediation proposal on national guidelines for working conditions.

The last point is symptomatic of changed climate in thus country. Especially in the construction industry, relations between labour and management have always been good. Strikes were virtually unknown.

Today, the chairman of the construction workers' union, Tudolf Sperner, says a strike cannot be excluded this year. He calls for tougher negotiations to draw a clear line between labour and management.

Sperner, who is considered a right-winger among trade unionists and anything but an agitator, severely criticised the employers' attitude.

He blamed them for having leaked figures for the impending round of wage negotiations, which "only served to poison the social climate in this country," if the construction workers' organ *Grundstein* is to be believed.

The employers in the metal industry started enlisting support for the present wage negotiations last summer.

And in early October 1977, before *IG Metall* gave notice on the current agreement, the employers' association in Solingen wrote: "We must come to terms with the fact that reasonable wage deals will not be achieved in the future without strikes and lockouts."

And in November a metalworkers' spokesman said: "This time the problem cannot be solved with a slide rule. What matters now is to defend principles."

Behind it all is the employers' intention to reduce the workers' share in the nation's income, which had risen in past years. They tried to convince the unions to exercise wage restraint by claiming this would help create new jobs.

The unions countered with scepticism over the jobs theory, arguing that consumer buying power must be increased if the economy is to get back on its feet.

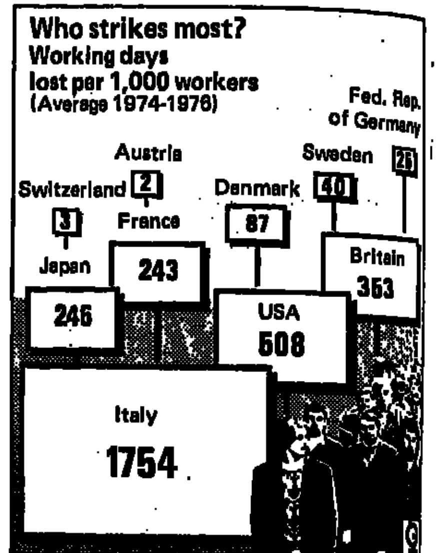
The first labour conflicts of this year showed that the parties were unable to arrive at a solution without outside help:

- When in the north of Germany 16,000 dockworkers went on strike, Hamburg's Mayor Hans-Ulrich Klose had to mediate. On his second attempt he achieved a settlement with seven per cent wage increases, which earned him the criticism of Economic Affairs Minister Otto Graf Lambsdorff.
- When the steel industry was threatened by a strike, Northrhine-Westphalia's Labour Minister Friedhelm Farthmann got the parties to accept a four per cent wage increase.

This gave rise to speculation when mediation in the metal industry failed that only a politician could avert a strike.

But both the employers and the *IG Metall* oppose a political mediator on the grounds that "political mediation would infringe on the autonomy of the parties to collective bargaining."

On 10 March we shall know whether the dispute is to end in all-out confrontation.



The chemical workers' union is due to start wage negotiations on 3 March. According to the union, the emphasis will lie on measures to secure jobs rather than on wages.

The union's executive has recommended that wage demands should not exceed seven per cent. This is less than the metalworkers (eight per cent), the construction workers (7.7 per cent), the printers (7.5 per cent) and public services workers (7.5 per cent) asked for.

The chances of such a deal in the chemical industry will depend on whether the metal industry can avert a strike at the last moment.

First smoke signals came from Cologne where the metalworkers administrator Kirchner indicated the possibility of top-level talks. Wolfram Thiele, president of the employers' association in that branch of industry and Eugen Loderer, chairman of *IG Metall* are emulating Egypt's President Sadat and Israel's Prime Minister Begin: both want peace, but they do not know how to achieve it.

Heinz Michaels

(Die Zeit, 3 March 1978)

Trade unions put their feet in the boardroom door

The new Co-determination Act not only enables trade unions to put their foot in capital's door, but it sees that they get paid for it, says Heinz-Oskar Vetter, chairman of the German Trade Union Confederation.

The new Supervisory Councils consist of an equal number of representatives of shareholders and staff. The councils appoint the executive boards, exercise control over them and draft long-range company policy.

But to prevent them becoming too accustomed to their new bourgeois conforts, the unionists will have to turn over most of their pay to the trade unions' Hans Böckler Foundation.

It is a capitalist tradition for most companies to pay handsomely for the acumen of their Supervisory Council members. The Company Act also stipulates that the remuneration must not be too miserly: "It must be commensurate with the company's financial position and the tasks of the Council member."

Apart from expense accounts, council members draw a fixed salary plus a profit-sharing bonus based on dividends. In most instances the bonus far exceeeds the salary.

A regular council member of the department store chain Kaufhof AG drew a fixed pay of DM5,000 in 1976. This was enhanced by a DM40,000 bonus.

According to the rule in most corporations, the chairman of the Supervisory Council draws twice the amount of regular members and his deputy one-and-a-half times.

Kaufhof's council chairman drew a fixed pay of DM10,000 and a bonus of DM80,000. The total bonus paid by Kaufhof to its 16 Supervisory Council members in 1976 amounted to DM635,716. Inclusive of the fixed pay, the council drew DM726,000.

Bayer paid its 15 council members DM737,000.

Klöckner-Humboldt-Deutz trails far behind, having paid a mere DM241,084 to its Supervisory Council.

The Colonia Insurance Company paid its 12 Council members DM300.000.

At the bottom of the list is Ford, who paid its seven council members DM60,000, and Felten and Guilleaume Carlswerke AG, whose 12-man council drew a mere DM43,378.

In return for their pay the council members meet between four and six times a year. They elect, control and advise the executive board.

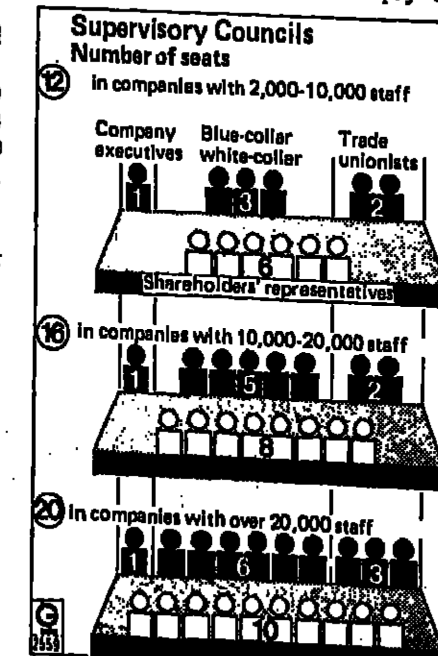
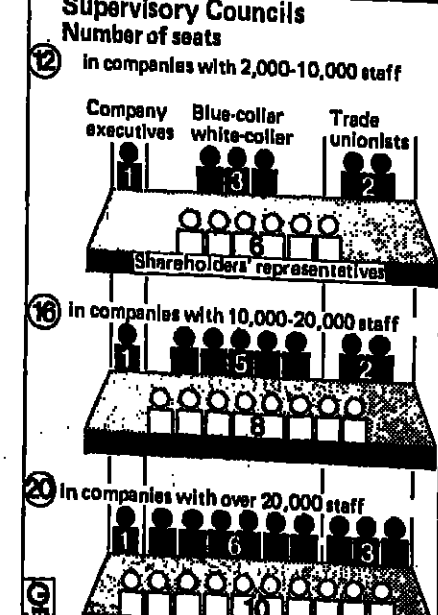
Major business decisions are made during council meetings. It is therefore understandable that the trade unions wanted a foothold.

But the union bosses anticipated early on that the financial rewards could represent an ideological danger to members chosen from their ranks.

The 10th national congress of the confederation decided in 1975 that "the sense of responsibility of the functionaries must be demonstrated by their turning over part of their remuneration for objectives that are in keeping with the unions' interpretation of co-determination."

Part means the lion's share.

Applicants for Supervisory Council posts must undertake to turn over all earnings in excess of DM6,000 a year. Up to that figure they have to pay 15 per cent and on anything below DM3,000, 12 per cent.

In other words, all they may keep is less than DM500 per month — and that for an activity which pays the representatives of capital on the same council considerably more.

But even this spartan rule irks some trade unionists. Nominees campaigning for such a post within a company have been know to agree to forfeit the whole of their remuneration.

So far, only one union has made this a general principle: the catering union.

Members must turn over everything that remains after they have met confederation conditions.

The catering union wants to use these funds for its training institutions.

The confederation has refused to comment on speculation over the amounts it can expect from this arrangement. Council members will only be elected this year and the first bonuses will not be due until next year.

It is easy to predict that a handsome amount will come in.

Says Hermann Unterhininghofen, co-determination expert of the confederation: "Considering that the trade unions provide about 80 per cent of Works Council members, it is conceivable that up to 4,000 union functionaries might join the Supervisory Councils of the 500 companies affected by the Act. The lowest figure would still have to be around 1,200."

Although all individual unions will profit, the chemical workers are likely to take the biggest leap forward. They ex-

Continued on page 8

■ SECURITY

Special terror trial court now a permanent fixture

The provisional court in Stuttgart-Stammheim, built for the Baader Meinhof trials at a cost of DM4 million in 1974 looks like becoming as permanent as the once "privisional" capital city Bonn.

The concrete bunker next to the prison was to be given to the prison administration and converted into a much-needed workshop.

In the meantime, construction work at Stammheim continues — not on workshops but on multi-purpose buildings for future trials. Another room is to cost DM100,000. Officials believe it to be indispensable to cope with the flood of terrorist trials coming up.

Trials are being held in Stammheim this month not only by the Stuttgart Land Court and the Stuttgart Supreme Land Court, but also by the Heidelberg Land Court.

The bunker has literally proved to be a multi-purpose building. It has housed not only terrorist trials but also a case of industrial espionage (in January 1978).

The Penal Law Senate of the Stuttgart Supreme Land Court had to hold the case there because the judge — not the accused — was believed to be in danger.

Many lawyers are unhappy about cases being tried in Stammheim. They argue that it is impossible to stage a normal trial in these circumstances.

Security controls, mounted policemen and policemen on foot patrolling in front of the court building with Alsatian dogs, plus the numerous court officials in the anterooms and the court itself are drastically conspicuous signs of the state's power.

They ensure that the atmosphere in the courtroom is oppressive.

One Stuttgart Supreme Land Court lawyer explained apologetically: "We were naive to believe that there would be peace in this country once the Baader Meinhof trials were over."

This is underlined by the fact that from March 2 the second and some of the third generation of alleged German terrorists and abettors will go on trial in Stammheim.

The lawyers have had to accept the security experts' demands that the trial be held here. Adequate security precautions simply cannot be taken in the busy, rambling court complex in the middle of Stuttgart.

The four terrorist trials will mean a severe drain on the resources of the Stuttgart prison and police authorities, in a situation similar to that at the beginning of the Baader Meinhof trials three years ago.

Policemen from the chronically understaffed local stations will be transferred to Stammheim to protect life and property. Their colleagues from the other Lands can provide only limited relief because they have first to learn the ropes from experienced local policemen.

The first case is that of Günter Sonnenberg on March 2. Although the case appears uncomplicated, the trial is likely to last over two months. Sonnenberg, like Verena Becker who was sentenced to life imprisonment in January of this year, is accused of the attempted murder of six policemen.

Sonnenberg suffered brain damage and was badly wounded in a shoot-out with the police on May 3 1977 in Singen. His injuries mean he is unable to take part in the trial for more than three hours a day. Lawyers find the proposal that the trial should take place in his absence highly problematic because the accused's inability to take part fully is not due to any refusal or action on his part.

Nothing will be said in this trial about Sonnenberg's alleged role in the murder of Prosecutor General Siegried Buback. The case is planned to last 16 days. Judgement should be given at the end of April.

The trial of Klaus Croissant, the lawyer whom the state prosecutor's office alleges to be "the intellectual foster-father" of the latest generation of terrorists is likely to be even more complicated.

Croissant was extradited from France, where he sought political asylum. The Paris court which ordered his extradition stipulated that Croissant could only be tried for building up an information network among accused terrorists and supporting a criminal — not a terrorist — conspiracy.

The Paris court's view that Croissant's complicity with the Red Army Fraction was "an intellectual one" also ties the Stuttgart Court's hands.

The 263-page prosecution dossier on Croissant, prepared before his flight to France, has had to be severely reduced.

The concrete bunker built to hold the Baader-Meinhof trial (right foreground) across the road from Stammheim prison outside Stuttgart.

(Photo: Manfred Grohe / Freig. Reg. Präs. Tübingen 42/1593)

According to extradition law, Croissant can only be tried on the accusations accepted by the French court which extradited him.

Croissant's trial begins on March 8. How long it will last is anyone's guess. Lawyers differ as to whether the offences Croissant is accused of can be proved.

From March 9 the Heidelberg Land Court will sit in Stammheim. The trial of Irmgard Möller, the only survivor of the Stammheim suicides, is also likely to be prolonged. Frau Möller has already been sentenced for other terrorist offences.

She is accused of having taken part with Bernhard Braun in the bomb attack on American army headquarters in Heidelberg in which three soldiers were killed and several badly wounded, and in the bomb attack on Federal Judge Buddenberg, in which Buddenberg's wife was badly ingured.

No date has been fixed for the trial of Johannes Thimme, alleged to be a figure on the fringe of the Haag-Mayer group.

His case will probably come up in March and he is likely to be accused of "participation in a terrorist conspiracy."

Renate Faerber

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 23 February 1978)

Inquiry ready to examine prison deaths

The parliamentary committee set up to investigate the deaths of Andreas Baader, Gudrun Ensslin and Jan-Carl Raspe in Stammheim prison near Stuttgart has completed its hearings.

More than 75 witnesses gave evidence at the 17 public hearings. Their depositions come to over 4,000 typescript pages.

There is on eager audience, waiting to find out what information the committee has unearthed and what light it can throw on the known facts.

Was it suicide or murder? The doctors who performed the post mortems and the other experts were unamimous that Andreas Baader, Jan Carl Raspe and Gudrun Ensslin committed suicide and that Irmgard Möller attempted to take her life.

The German and international experts described the possibility of third parties having anything to do with the deaths as "highly remote." They held that suicide by a shot in the neck as with Baader, was "atypical", though there are several references to it in specialist literature.

Irmgard Möller denied the suicide theory in her evidence.

Could the suicides have been foreseen? The witnesses' evidence was contradictory. Presiding judge Eberhard Foth, referring to a letter by Baader said:" It is possible they wanted to put the blame for their suicides on others."

A federal C.I.D. official spoke of "serious suicide threats." Former prison governor Hans Nusser and his superiors, on the other hand, did not believe that the prisoners seriously intended to kill themselves.

However, Nusser passed on to his superiors all the information about the prisoners' state of mind and intentions.

Had the prisoners been drugged? According to Tübingen forensic expert Hans Joachim Mallach, the prisoners received large doses of drugs before their deaths. However, indication that they had been knocked out by drugs before their deaths or had received substances "which could have led to a clouding or reduction of consciousness or to unconsciousness."

How did the prisoners come to have weapons? Prosecutor General Kurt Rebmann said "informants" had told him these weapons were passed to the prisoners by their defence counsel Arndt Müller and Armin Newerla.

These two are alleged to have smuggled "specially designed" files containing weapons and explosives into the court and passed them to the prisoners.

This is contradicted by policemen, who say the lawyers were not allowed to hold these files when being searched. The policemen leafed through the files and sometimes used metal detectors on them.

Prison governor Nusser conceded that the prisoners had not been searched on their return from court to prison.

When were the cells searched? Witnesses testified that since 1974 six or seven searches of the cells had been carried out by the Land C.I.D. and on some occasions by Federal C.I.D. officials.

With the exception of a Minox camera in September 1977, nothing except a few light bulbs and a other small objects had been found.

Witnesses testified that reconstruction work was done in the Baader Meinhof section of the prison from May to the beginning of July 1977. It was possible that prisoners working on the building could have had contact with the Baader Meinhof prisoners.

How did the prisoners communicate with one another? Witnesses said the communication system between the prisoners during the contact ban imposed after the Schleyer kidnapping had been "excellent."

Stuttgart radio expert Otto Bohner said the prisoners were able to pick up the prison radio network. According to prison warders, information gathered from bits and pieces heard on he radio were passed on at night by shouting from cell to cell. This disputed by other witnesses.

Can the Ministry of Justice or even of the Land government be accused of political or organisational errors?

Baden-Württemberg Prime Minister Hans Filbinger testified that he had assumed that the contact ban had been "most strictly" observed throughout.

Minister of Justice Traugott Bender, who resigned over the Stammheim affair before the committee began taking evidence, said he had not been told about talks between Federal C.I.D. and Federal Chancellor's Office officials and the prisoners.

Herr Bender said, seven days before the suicides, on October 11, he had given instructions to ensure no suicide attempts were made. He had assumed these had been carried out, though he had had no way of supervising the measures.

He had had the impression that everything had been done while reconstruction work was on to prevent contact between the Baader Meinhof prisoners and other prisoners the could not remember being told that a Minox camera had been found in Baader's cell.

Franz Rafalski/dpa

(Stuttgarter Nachrichten, 21 February 1978)

■ TRADE

Bonn pinpoints causes for poor economic showing

Vorwärts

The Bonn Government's economic report for 1978 debated in the Bundestag lists three main reasons for the unsatisfactory economic development in the Federal Republic.

Firstly, the lag in world trade (a real growth of five per cent in 1977 — less than half the 1976 figure).

Secondly, the effect of this on tax revenues, which diminished markedly, and resulted in lower government spending.

And, thirdly, the "investment bottleneck in the energy sector."

In the latter case, the Government might have been well advised to speak of generally slowed down investment activity.

In 1977 investments grew at the most by 3.5 per cent in real terms, achieving only two-thirds of the target, which affected the growth in GNP, a mere 2.5 per cent and even this slight growth was due entirely to the private sector.

Investments by government-owned companies, which should have increased by two per cent in real terms, decreased instead.

This shows that the present economic problem has two major issues: How will the world economy develop and what course will investment take?

We must immediately set aside the fairy tale of stopping wage increases as a cure-all, a theory propounded by the Advisory Council of Economic Experts.

If the world's lowest interest rates have not managed to stimulate investment, and if the world's lowest wage increases have also failed, it stands to reason that zero wage increases would also fail to trigger a boom.

World trade received a great many impulses from the American import vortex which gave that nation a balance of payments deficit of between 18,000 and 20,000 million dollars for 1977/78.

According to latest figures, the GNP in the United States increased by an enviable 4.2 per cent in the last quarter of 1977. Japan achieved about six per cent.

But the mood in both these countries is sombre. Japan had expected its growth rate to be one per cent higher. The development of industrial production there is giving rise to concern and some fear severe setbacks.

The United States (officially) still expects growth to accelerate to five per cent in the first half of 1978. But it would surprise no-one if the upswing which has lasted nearly two years were to end.

This fear is borne out by the Carter Administration's massive tax reductions of 25,000 million dollars despite worries about inflation.

It would be tragic if the two locomotives, the United States and Japan, were to lose steam at the very moment when the upswing in Western Europe might give way to a new recession.

There can be no doubt that the economic slowdown on both sides of the oceans has had an effect on curbing inflation. But should the shrinking process seize all major industrialised nations at the same pace we might face a setback worse than that of 1975.

In strict terms, such a mini-recession has already set in in a number of west and north European countries. In Sweden this might be due to the stockpiling of their 1975 production which left them sitting with their surpluses in the weak upswing that followed. Even more worrying is the fact that Western and Southern Europe seem to be sliding into a new shrinking process.

This is not surprising since, prompted by their balance of payments positions, these countries did everything to curb not only inflation but also private and government consumption — the latter more than the former.

This was done by cutting Budget increases (as in the Federal Republic of Germany) or, indirectly, by letting their currencies slump. This boosted import prices and set the inflation spiral going again.

The import decreases among these good customers had an adverse effect on German exports.

Granted, the export prices of those countries also increased; but even so, they managed to regain a certain health in foreign trade by such a slimming cure — especially Italy. But there this had the undesirable side-effect of boosting unemployment.

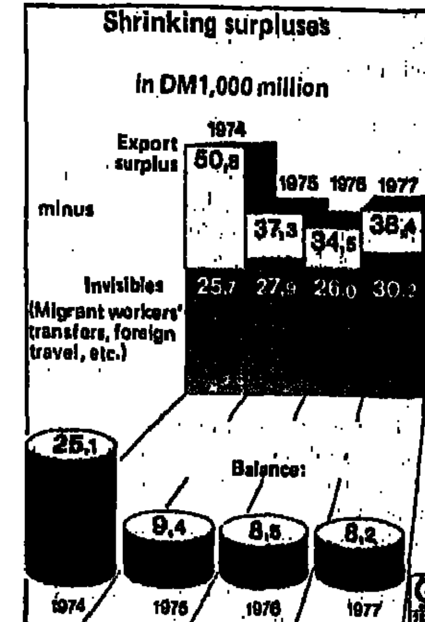
What about the desired private investments? It would be unrealistic to expect private industry, whose investment planning is governed by the world economy, to invest when chances of selling goods on the world markets are poor.

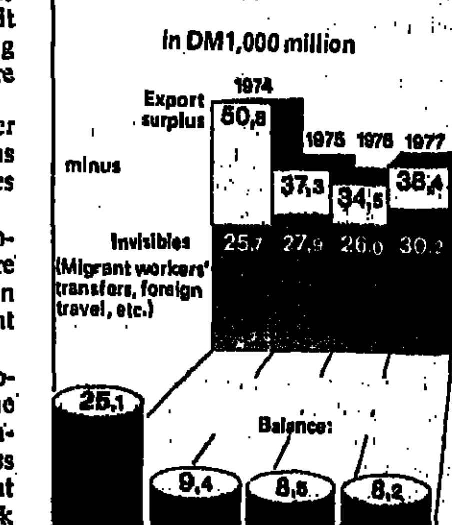
Cost reductions through lower interest rates and curbs on wage increases can change little if sales opportunities do not improve — both at home and abroad.

The fact is that until mid-1977 investments (excluding housing) in such major countries as the United States, Britain, France and Germany remained about 10 per cent below the previous peak. Japan lagged by as much as 20 per cent.

A closer look shows that this does not only apply to private investments. Government investments (with the exception of France) failed to materialise, not only in the decisive phase of the recession but also when such investments could have boosted the upswing.

In private business investments in 1977 rose by 4.8 per cent in real terms (1976: 7.3 per cent). In construction the increase was 4.5 per cent (1976: 6.7 per cent).





The bugbear lies with public sector investments, which fell by 2.6 per cent in 1977, having dropped by 3.8 per cent in 1976.

The OECD had pointed out in 1972 that the German investment boom was at an early stage marked by the high growth rate in public investments: 7.5 per cent a year from 1955 to 1969 (only 3.3 per cent in the private sector).

This development stopped in 1970: and from 1971 to 1973 public investments declined, increasing to the old level in 1974 and then dropping for good.

The objection that investments in 1976 amounted to only 17 per cent of total investments does not apply. In 1974 the state's share still amounted to 19 per cent. And if all state-owned companies are included this rises to 30 per cent.

Among these companies stagnation did not set in until 1973. But the impulse from them failed at the critical moment.

Investments by state-owned companies (excluding the railway system and the postal authority) remained fairly constant between 1967 and 1969, a nominal DM8,000 million. They thus braked the upswing when extra fuel was needed.

Between 1970 and 1972 they rose from 10,900 to 16,600 million deutschmarks (roughly 33 per cent in real terms) while State investments remained constant and those of private business rose by barely one-fifth.

The state enterprise sector has been unable to compensate for the lag in state investments since 1971.

In Italy and Britain state enterprises underwent a real shrinking process during the recession. Italy's state-owned industry declined in investments between 1973 and 1976 by close to 30 per cent. The trend is continuing. Total investments in 1976 were 2.3 per cent more in real terms than in the crisis year of 1975.

Only Austria, and to some extent France, tried to keep investments in that sector high. They followed a Keynesian policy now obsolete almost everywhere else.

In the whole business sector in France (excluding housing construction) investments fell by 6.6 per cent in 1975, rising by 7.3 per cent in 1976. In 1974 they remained on the 1973 level, having risen by 4.9 per cent in 1973.

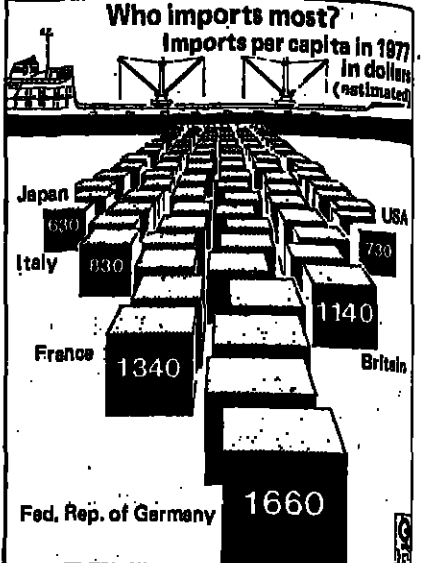
The major state-owned companies, which account for about 25 per cent of investments in the business sector, stepped up their 1974 investments by the same figure as the 1973, 5.6 per cent. This was followed in the recession year 1975 by a whacking 24.4 per cent in real terms (equalling 38.7 per cent nominally).

In 1976, investments rose by another 9.8 per cent in real terms.

Granted, that might have contributed to the high inflation rate in France. But French industry can now face international competition with modern plant and machinery and stands a good chance of providing new jobs.

This planning seems to be paying dividends after all.

Karl Kuhne
(Vorwärts, 2 March 1978)



Help on way for the big engines

New impulses to the world economy should come not only from countries with high balance of trade surpluses but also from the so-called convalescing members of the OECD.

This has been agreed by the 24 states in the OECD committee for economic policy. The committee does not consider more growth measures by the Federal Republic necessary at present. The conflict here between Bonn and Washington can therefore be considered defused.

Not only Germany but a number of other OECD member states opposed the US locomotive theory according to which Germany and Japan bear the main responsibility for general economic growth. Thereupon the OECD Secretariat also changed its tactics.

Having initially supported the US thesis, the OECD has now compromised along the lines that all countries with strong currencies should boost their domestic economies in a concerted action. This formula has finally been accepted by Washington.

In a two-day committee session chaired by Charles Schultze, head of the US delegation, it was agreed that even members whose trade balances are improving should be included. This concerns, among others, the former deficit countries Britain and Italy.

The details of this concerted action are now to be worked out by the governments concerned and coordinated with the OECD Secretariat in Paris.

The German delegation, headed by Hans Tietmeyer of the Bonn Economic Affairs Ministry, was largely successful in making its point that Bonn has done its share through its latest fiscal measures and interest rate policy.

Tietmeyer stressed that no additional measures could be demanded of Bonn.

This presupposes that Germany achieves a GNP growth in real terms of between 4.5 and 5 per cent in 1978. This means a 3.5 per cent growth rate for 1978 over 1977.

Should Germany fall far short of this target additional measures might become necessary. But Herr Tietmeyer denied that such promises were made in Paris.

He said there was no reason for commitments since latest trends indicated even more growth.

It is doubtful whether all delegations share this optimism. According to latest OECD forecasts, German growth for 1978 is likely to increase by only 3.25 per cent.

This means it would lag behind the four per cent average assumed by the OECD for all member nations.

Joachim Schaufuss
(Die Welt, 1 March 1978)

■ BUSINESS

Dollar fall fails to bring relief to stock market

Stock market speculators should have been relieved when the dollar exchange rate, having dropped to below DM2, showed signs of recovery.

But the market showed no sign of relief over the seemingly diminished pressure on the dollar.

Does this mean that the dollar slump and its attendant deutschmark strength have less effect on the stock market than pundits, who held that the monetary turbulence of the past weeks had put the brakes on stock prices claim.

More important than philosophising about this question is Switzerland's recent monetary defence measure and what this country's reaction should be if even more capital fleeing from the dollar and the French franc flow into Germany because Switzerland is curbing the influx of foreign currency.

German bankers have for some time feared that Bonn could dig out old monetary plans.

Liberal Economic Affairs Minister Otto Graf Lambsdorff has given assurances that nothing of the sort is planned. But Switzerland, too, was taken by surprise when its government suddenly decided to pull the emergency brake.

Has Germany not already taken a first step in this direction by a recent regulation barring the sale of short-term German bonds abroad? Will this ban, euphemistically termed "making such sales subject to Central Bank permission," be extended to longer-term securities.

Stock market pundits are sceptical over Bonn's assurances that it does not plan any defensive monetary measures. This has led to uncertainty on the stock market, affecting both stocks and bonds. In the past few months these securities had benefited from foreign speculation on a rising deutschmark.

We have to keep a cool head. If the dollar continues its slump and if the Bundesbank and Bonn keep their promise even sceptics will find their fears unfounded. The stock market will then drop all speculation and return to business.

In other words, talk will no longer revolve around the dollar weakness and the low interest rates.

In reviewing stock prices in the past weeks we can conclude that the pessimism over the dollar weakness and the optimism due to the lowering of the interest rate offset each other.

The question is whether speculators have distributed the weights correctly. The excessive deutschmark strength caused by the erosion of the dollar will certainly have an adverse effect on exports and make it hard for us to remain competitive on foreign markets.

But speculators frequently overlook the fact that competitiveness is not dependent on prices alone and that technology and quality play a major role.

There is no doubt that the exchange problems will diminish export profits. But this need not be permanent.

There is also a positive side to the monetary turbulance: growing imports mean foreign competition on domestic markets and headaches to our business; but they also mean cheaper raw materials and semi-finished products which have a beneficial effect on our inflation rate. And price stability is a good basis for lower interest rates on the capital market.

The Bundesbank's monetary policy must hold its low interest rate as long as revaluation pressure on the deutschmark continues.

Low interest rates, on the other hand, stimulate the stock market. Stock with a good dividend record is more and more becoming an alternative to investment in bonds.

One disturbing aspect is the present round of collective bargaining. It would be bad if business were to give in to excessive wage demands.

Claus Dertinger
(Die Welt, 1 March 1978)

Bomb caution

Continued from page 2

ufacture the B1 supersonic bomber failed to bring anything tangible as a Soviet counter-concession.

Would it be wise to expect the Kremlin to forgo stationing more SS 20 missiles in Western Russia or to reduce its tank strength in the GDR in return for the non-manufacture of the neutron bomb?

As long as Nato is not fittted out with neutron bombs it would be foolhardy to speculate on the device's potential as a bargaining counter.

It will take time and effort to find out whether the bomb is sufficient to induce the Soviet Union to reduce its offensive potential.

The political benefit enjoys priority but at the current stage of debate a more effective defence capacity hardly seems to merit a mention.

Kurt Becker
(Die Zeit, 3 March 1978)

Bank rates
in percentages in 1978
Italy 11.5
France 9.5
Danmark 9
Sweden 8
Britain 7
USA 6
Austria 5.5
Netherlands 5.5
Japan 4.5
Fed. Rep. of Germany 3
Switzerland 1.5

Emminger pledge to back dollar

The Bundesbank will do all it can to relieve the pressure on the dollar — provided this does not jeopardise West German monetary stability.

This was Bundesbank President Otmar Emminger's comment on the dollar crisis during a function in Berlin for the new president of the city's central bank.

Herr Emminger said America could not expect too much help. The difference in interest rates made it easier for America to finance its deficits by capital imports.

He said the structural difficulties in America's balance of payments could not be overcome by exchange rate policies. One of the most difficult questions, said Herr Emminger, was how much of America's balance of payments problem could be overcome by adaptation measures. Central bank intervention was no solution in the long run.

Herr Emminger said he hopedWashington would take up foreign credits, in which the Bundesbank would be prepared to assist.

Interventions in support of the dollar had greatly increased West Germany's money volume. Foreign exchange reserves had risen by DM13,000 million since last November. The Bundesbank was constantly confronted with the question how to reconcile such intervention with its stability policy.

Herr Emminger said the dollar used to be overvalued by about 17 per cent in relation to the deutschmark. In 1978 it was undervalued by 20 per cent. This was a drastic reversal of price relations which had little to do with the difference in inflation rates.

The deutschmark has gained 16 per cent on the dollar since mid-1977, while the difference in the inflation rate amounts to only between four and five per cent.

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 1 March 1978)

Industry says 1977 a poor profits year

Handelsblatt
DEUTSCHE WIRTSCHAFTSZEITUNG

The harbingers of good profits seen in 1976 failed to keep their promise. According to the Confederation of German Industry (BDI), 1977 was a bad year for industry's profit and loss accounts.

The improved profits of 1976 failed to appear in 1977. On the contrary, reports indicate that profits are diminishing.

In retrospect, 1976 appears as a very good year for German industry:

- Production per working day increased by 6.9 per cent to pre-recession level;
- Investments rose considerably. The increase of gross investments by 4.5 per cent in real terms marked the first significant increase in industrial investment since 1970:
- The inflation rate dropped to 3.9 per cent. Since per item wage costs diminished by 2.4 per cent there was enough scope for improved profits, as seen by the development of liquid capital and profits on turnover.

But profits varied widely. While some businesses managed to increase profits considerably, others showed only minor improvement.

According to BDI, this is one reason why growth impulses did not acumulate. Profits in industry show that the favourable trend of early 1976 began to peter out in the second half.

Production increased by a mere 2.9 per cent and the utilisation of production capacities has stagnated since April 1976. It still amounts to 80 per cent. This was a decisive factor for the poor productivity results per manhour in 1977.

The wage agreements of 1977 could therefore not be offset by increased productivity. Wage costs per item started to rise again. In the third quartir of 1977 this amounted to 3.1 per cent, while increases for industrial products slowed to 1.9 per cent. In other words, pice stabilisation was not followed by cost stabilisation.

Among the beneficial aspects were the lower interest rates and a deceleration in import price rises. But the slower rise of export prices made it impossible to pass cost increases on to foreign markets

BDI concludes: The improved profits of 1976 did not continue into 1977. Gross incomes from non-self-employed work increased by 7 per cent, following 7.1 per cent in 1976; while gross business incomes and capital yield increased by a mere 2.5 per cent (1976: 15.4 per cent).

This dampened primarily medium-and long-term profit expectations. These expectations are governed by anticipated demand and production costs — above all wages and taxes.

"It has become clear now that last year's wage agreements have become millstones for our industry," says the BDI.

"It is regrettable that economic exigencies are less and less taken into consideration in arriving at wage deals."

(Handelsblatt, 1 March 1978)

Business looks to America

As a result of the growing dollar weakness more and more German industrialists are thinking of building production plants in the United States.

Seminars on investment possibilities in America are overrun. The United States as an investment country has been given top priority by the Institute for Foreign Relations in Stuttgart.

In conjunction with the Baden-Württemberg Economic Affairs Ministry, the institute has been holding short seminars for the training of German business executives for work abroad since 1962.

These two-or three-day courses provide basic information about the foreign country concerned.

While other institutions provide longer courses aimed primarily at training government officials, the Stuttgart programme is geared entirely to industry.

The low price of DM260 per seminar and the no-nonsense practical presentation of the subjects by experts with foreign experience meet the needs of medium-sized companies.

The growing export orientation of industry and its attendant activities abroad has increased the need for knowledge about foreign markets. The main subjects of the courses are the economy and business practices abroad.

The Stuttgart institute also provides information on economic geography, infrastructure, the political situation, culture and religion in foreign countries.

The institute has arranged about 100 seminars, up to seven a year, attended by nearly 3,300 people.

Werner Neitzel
(Die Welt, 28 February 1978)

■ ENVIRONMENT

Noise abatement Bill has its volume turned down

Frankfurter Allgemeine

Unless the Bundestag puts backbone into the Road and Rail Noise Abatement Bill in committee, the country may well end up with an Act which, far from ensuring noise abatement, perpetuates a fairly high decibel count.

The Bundesrat, or upper house, in which state governments are represented, recently debated amendment proposals, made mainly by the finance committee, which drew a number of teeth from the noise abatement provisions.

This suits local authorities since they are unwilling to tailor road-building programmes to noise abatement requirements.

On a number of points the Bill has been marginally improved from the viewpoint of the decibel-deafened public.

But no more than a rump remains of the Bonn government's original noise abatement package. Not even the bid by the health committee to ensure more effecive noise ceilings for hospitals, sanatoriums and the like gained majority support in the Bundesrat.

A similar fate lay in store for the attempt to incorporate a provision ensuring the same noise ceilings in partially as in fully residential suburbs.

This will make it much more difficult for local authorities to try to stop the migration from noisy inner suburbs to dormitory suburbs on the outskirts of town.

In its present form the Bill provides for noise abatement primarily by means of structural improvements in walls, embankments and road surfaces to reduce the decibel count.

The government had originally envisaged grants towards the cost of soundproofing houses, but this will now be the exception.

The Bill nonetheless includes decibel ceilings for traffic noise on new roads in residential and city-centre areas, in villages and areas with both housing and light industry and purely industrial or commercial areas.

The prescribed noise levels for day and night are both substantially higher than orginally planned and no longer bear any relationship to the tolerances recommended by doctors.

In purely industrial areas, the Bundesrat feels, traffic noise levels need not apply in any form, since the noise in factories and workshops is frequently so high that traffic outside is not heard.

But this would give decibel offenders a free hand once more. Industrial interests, noticing that Bonn has been less insistent on traffic noise abatement recently, are increasingly calling for less stringent levels at work.

The Federal government failed from the outset to agree on the amount of noise a nieghbourhood might be expected to endure during substantial roadworks — road-widening schemes, for instance.

The Bundesrat finance committee advocated even more convenient terms (for the roadbuilders) than proposed in the government draft. But here the Bundesrat as a whole did not agree.

For years the Bonn Ministers of Transport, Housing, Health and the Interior have argued whether existing noisy roads ought to be included and what provisions should be made.

The Bill provides for noise abatement works on existing trunk roads over a 15-year period, with works envisaged according to urgency and availability of cash, *but only where the noise is deafening.*

The Bundesrat recommends a different approach, that of doing something about extremely high noise levels on all existing roads over the next 20 years, but requiring residents to foot half the bill.

Individual MPs, including the chairman of the Social Democratic parliamentary party's home affairs committee, have voiced strong misgivings about the Transport Ministry's proposals.

But in the Bundestag the Bill will be dealt with by the transport committee, which in the past has frequently claimed that in traffic noise the chief offender is the motor vehicle.

Transport Minister Kurt Scheidle passed the buck to motor manufacturers again in submitting the Bill to the Bundestag. The motor industry repaid the compliment just before the Bundesrat was due to debate the issue.

In Bonn the motor industry claimed that designing and bulding quieter cars would prove more costly than other measures. A past and telling argument is that a larger number of quieter cars would eventually generate as much noise as a smaller number of noisier ones.

Is traffic noise such a controversial topic? Yes, because either transport or environmental policy has to take the back seat.

The present debate began when Interior Minister Werner Maihofer, whose brief includes the environment, persuaded even Transport Minister Gscheidle to accept a noise abatement compromise in the form of regulations governing the implementation of the Atmospheric Pollution Act.

But Finance Minister Hans Apel, now in charge of defence, vetoed the idea and it was shelved once Chancellor Schmidt was convinced by Federal and state government financial and roadbuilding planners that the regulations would not work.

At the Interior Ministry the current Bill is termed a scandal, while the Housing Ministry is speechless. Before his 3 February resignation to campaign in the Lower Saxon state assembly elections Housing Minister Karl Ravens had withheld support in the Cabinet from both Interior Minister Maihofer and Health Minister Antje Huber.

Five years ago a solution was recommended in a special survey on motoring and the environment by the government commission on environmental affairs.

Since motor vehicles remain indispensable the experts recommended a damper on the demand for motor-cars — in the long term at least.

Vehicular traffic, they said, ought also to be restricted or banned where specified levels are exceeded. Statutory requirements should also be made to the environment.

These recommendations were naturally ignored, but now no one knows where to turn so overwhelming has the decibel count since grown.

Key L. Ulrich

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 25 February 1978)

New councils

Continued from page 4

pect to put some 150 of their members on to Supervisory Councils.

The metalworkers are somewhat less well off since they have had representatives on Supervisory Councils all along.

Whatever the outcome, the Hans Böckler Foundation, which at present administers DM15 million, can expect additional funds to the tune of eight digits.

The foundation was established in 1977 when the former Co-determination Foundations and the Hans Böckler Society (founded in the mid-fifties) merged.

While the Co-determination Foundation primarily sponsored young academics from workers' families, the Hans Böckler Society was devoted to the theory and practice of co-determination.

A trade union representative explains the necessity for the merger as follows: "Although DGB (confederation) demands for equal rights of labour and capital have not been met, the trade unions will make full use of the Co-determination Act in order to avert harm to workers and their organisations."

To this end the Böckler Foundation will combine its training and research sectors into an all-encompassing department dealing with counselling on co-determination. Trade unionists among Supervisory Council members will have a brains trust at their disposal.

The financial booster for the Hans Böckler Foundation is of importance. This year, some 10 million deutschmarks were provided by the Bonn Research Ministry, while the rest came from unionist council members.

As a result of the new Co-determination Act, the total budget of the foundation could well double.

Gérard Schmidt

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 25 February 1978)

No conservation setbacks says environment watchdog

Cologne economist Karl-Heinrich Hansmeyer says the Federal government has acquitted itself 'satisfactorily on the whole' in environmental affairs.

Professor Hansmeyer chairs the advisory council on environmental affairs to the Bonn Ministry of the Interior and has just submitted his first report since 1975 to Interior Minister Werner Maihofer.

Environmental conservation, he says, has not had any major setbacks since the council's first report three years ago, but it has *not* achieved a breakthrough either.

Progress has been made in domestic refuse collection and atmospheric pollution, but toxic chemicals and ecologically ill-advised land utilisation seem likely to prove tough customers.

The report recommends setting up a Bundestag sub-committee on environmental affairs and amending the constitution to require the government to conserve the environment.

This, the council claims, will affect administrative and civil law and ensure that the environment is given greater constitutional consideration and greater attention as a civil right.

In its review of water resources the report says pollution caused by substances that can be dealt with fairly easily has, on average, not increased. In some areas it has even been reduced.

Industrial effluent is a bigger problem as it contains larger quantities of more resilient organic matter and heavy metal compounds. Manufacturers must develop and employ new techniques, the report says.

The Atmospheric Pollution Act has yet to come into its own, Professor Hansmeyer and his colleagues say, so a further pollution of the air we breathe may be anticipated.

The report voices anxiety about fluoride gas in spray cans and possible effects on the ozone layer in the atmosphere. Manufacturers and users of fluoride hydrocarbons ought to scale down their use rapidly.

If they fail the Bonn government will have no option but to impose legal restraints.

The report makes no recommendation on tougher atmospheric pollution levels, biological and medical knowledge being inadequate for a decision one way or the other.

Tougher provisions might, the report suggests, be considered in hard-hit areas and dispensed with where atmospheric pollution is less of a problem.

Special importance is attached in the report to additional provisions in the Atmospheric Pollution Act, such as proposed amendments on clean air areas and supplementary clean air regulations.

Noise abatement in the decade ahead should concentrate on reducing motor vehicle noise, improving soundproofing at decibel black spots and trying to avoid noise peak periods.

Otherwise, they claim, the public may come to feel increasingly touchy about noise and take a different view of the position.

Noise abatement measures must aim firstly at reducing noise and less at affording protection from it.

How is legislation to be enforced; the report strongly recommends boosting the powers of inspectors of clean air and water and foodstuffs.

Breaches of environmental regulations cannot be expected to decline until the risk of being caught is greater.

Environmental conservation and law enforcement authorities must also cooperate more effectively and preclude grey zones where breaches of the law are tacitly ignored.

Who is to pay? Professor Hansmeyer and his colleagues deal in detail with two options: either the culprit pays or the community as a whole foots the bill.

They conclude that in both economic and ecological efficacy it is preferable for the culprit to pay.

In individual instances, ecological necessity may make it preferable for the community to foot the bill if the cost is too high for the company and the repercussions too far-reaching.

The culprit pays must remain the paramount principle, with the community footing part of the bill as an additional feature.

(Handelsblatt, 22 February 1978)

BOOKS

Hermann Hesse and the politics of inaction

The Hermann Hesse boom continues unabated. It cannot simply be interpreted as the late and well-deserved success of an author often misunderstood in his lifetime, or dismissed as the result of clever marketing strategies.

There is no doubt that Hesse has a large potential readership, but his success is mainly due to his publisher Peter Suhrkamp and his editor Volker Michels, both utterly convinced of Hesse's greatness and his mission and determined to spread the word far and wide. It is as simple as that.

Herr Michels is completely dedicated to Hesse and probably knows his literary remains better than any man alive. Year after year he edits new collections of Hesse's own work or critical work on Hesse. The result of Suhrkamp's and Michels's collaboration is impressive. By the middle of 1977 Suhrkamp had sold about 700,000 copies of books in their Hesse series.

Few would have been more baffled by this remarkable boom than Hesse himself. He never imagined he would be a popular author and was never especially interested in a mass readership. He considered himself an outsider and an individualist and refused to allow his books to be promoted.

There is not much he can do about it anymore. The huge sales of his work in his anniversary year prove he was wrong — that he underestimated his potential appeal.

It also means that those now marketing his books so effectively are in a sense doing violence to his intentions.

It has to be said that the recently-published *Politik des Gewissens* (Politics of Conscience) does not do Hesse any great favour either. It consists of two volumes, nearly a thousand pages, and claims to be Hesse's political writings.

The claim cannot, however, be upheld. Hesse collected and published all his political writings worth the name in a volume entitled *Krieg und Frieden* (War and Peace).

This slim volume has now been transformed into a huge expensive reader. It would have been cheaper and more sensible to produce a new annotated edition of his War and Peace with an explanation of the historical context. The Politics of Conscience does admittedly tell us precisely what Hesse thought of the political developments of his times but the price of finding this out is too high.

The Hesse aficionados in the Suhrkamp Verlag seem unable to grasp that readers do not need to see the same statements and opinions four and five times to work out what Hesse thought. The Politics of Conscience is bursting at the seams with repetition.

The book is a testimony to its editor's industry but the fact remains that the reader is not twice as wise for reading the same thing twice.

Editor Volker Michels has used all the sources available for this book: entries in Hesse's diary, poems, letters, reviews, letters to official bodies, polemical writings, essays.

The intention was clearly to illuminate Hesse's political thinking from as many sides as possible, but the editor has failed to separate wheat from chaff and all too frequently wandered off the subject (or perhaps defined the word politics too extensively).

Certainly, one can argue that the history of a publishing house is political, that poetry, or what Hesse considered to be poetry, is political, that man is a political animal, and so on.

The result of such a definition is that the editor can include just about anything. A tighter one would have served the reader better.

Apart from this, Volker Michels is a sober and serious editor. He makes a point of explaining — often too lengthily — what events Hesse is referring to, he conscientiously explains references to people. But his most exhaustive explanations deal with matters comparatively well-known, and the closer people concerned are to Hesse the more detailed is Herr Michels's account.

He makes some errors, sometimes leaves unexplained what could have been dealt with without undue effort and is occasionally unsure of dates. But basically he can be relied on.

When we consider Hesse's success today, we tend to forget how he struggled as a writer in his lifetime.

He had a select group of faithful and admiring readers who looked up to him as a guru, but there were many who hated and attacked his books. The reasons for both admiration and hatred were primarily ideological rather than aesthetic.

The overriding subject of the two volumes of the Politics of Conscience is his response to the Germans and theirs to him. It is appropriate that the book should begin with World War 1, which

Frankfurter Rundschau

first roused Hesse to political consciousness.

When the war broke out, Hesse was living in Berne in Switzerland. He was married to a Swiss woman but considered himself a German through and through. And in those days being German meant something quite definite to him.

Like thousands of his compatriots, Hesse responded like a right-thinking, national German. He volunteered for military service and hoped he would be called up.

He believed the Germans were in the right and would be victorious. He had a poor opinion of the English, found the Tsarist regime even more repulsive than the Kaiser's and believed the French to be cowardly and sly.

One thing was clear. War was not his business. Indeed, he never really understood what it was all about, seeing it as a sad struggle for undefined values.

In his correspondence with a Norwegian journalist, Hesse points out that the war is not a struggle between English and French democracy and Prusso-German militarism. He cannot share the Norwegian's point of view "because I am a German."

At 40, Hesse still could not make up his mind. We find him defending Germany's enemies when arguing with Germans and defending Germany when arguing with her enemies.

He knows in his bones that peace and the reconciliation of the warring nations is the main priority. Though he finds the rampant patriotism of the times repulsive, he still manages to see the good side of war, like Max Scheler, whom he much admired.

At times he forgets the dead and the mutilated in his incessant search for an idyll. Hesse thought that the war was not at all a bad thing, indeed quite healthy, for the intellectuals whom he did not much like.

Like many of his generation, Hesse was sick and tired of the affluent prewar years and their (imagined) paucity of ideas. Like them, he hoped that the war would create something new. Though he did not go as far as many contemporaries who believed civilisation would go under unless Germany won, he considered that the Germans had a special mission to ennoble and enlighten the rest of the world.

Hesse's critique of Germany at this stage is still in many ways naive. He identifies the old idealistic Germany with the Germany of his day. He argues that the new Germany will win the day with its weapons and its industry, just as the old Germany won the day with its music, literature and philosophy.

Slowly, Hesse awakes from this dream. He begins to hate the war. He no longer defends the indefensible but stands up for what he believes and for that only. Half Quaker, half Swabian missionary, he gets invoved in controversies with pacifists, with whom he has, objectively, a lot in common. However he sees himself as an individualist and a loner and cannot identify with group causes.

This attitude was to become typical. It is the essence of what he describes as his politics, not in fact politics at all. He is too much of an elitist. He sees no connections between the intellectuals and "the rest."

There is no denying that Hesse conformed to a certain extent, but he rescued some traces of freedom by relative non-conformity. This is at the back of the often quoted remark: "I don't like politics at all. If I did, I would have been a revolutionary long ago."

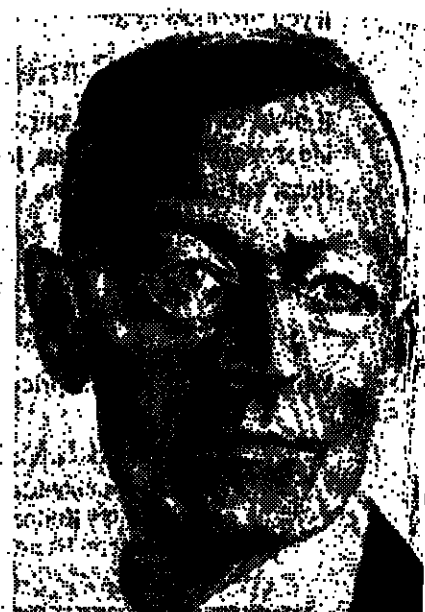
This was not a piece of intellectual coquetry. If he could have become a revolutionary without going against his own nature no doubt he would have done so. He certainly was under no illusions about the nature of capitalism. He despised it, often spoke in favour of the revolution of 1918-19, and defended the revolutionary left against the conformist SPD, which he described as stupid and replete and sitting on the corpses of Liebknecht and Landauer.

He would not have objected if the leading warmongers — and later Hitler — had been murdered. The trouble is that his politics were private, idiosyncratic. They did not involve action. His politics were the politics of inwardness (*Innerlichkeit*).

Hating capitalism, he described socialism as "the only respectable political philosophy." He said that unlike the German people he had been driven far to the left. He could not, however, assimilate socialism into his own political credo because he could not believe in it. He considered Marxism stupid as a belief.

Leaving aside whether Marxists themselves religiously "believe" in Marxism, it is clear that Hesse never took the trouble to study the theory. He knew little and understood less of its basic principles.

Occasionally, he reacted to the practice of Marxism and said it was no different from fascism. Then, in more lucid moments, he recanted. All too often he



Hermann Hesse (Photo: Archiv/dpa)

denied that he had anything whatsoever to do with communism.

Hesse was repelled by what he described as the "thin rationality" of communism. This attitude is repeated with Kant and Hegel — he rejects what he cannot understand.

Hesse preferred to get his political inspiration from art and religion — ideally from Far Eastern culture. In his old age he condemned China as a country which had rejected its own classics and did not want his books to be translated into Chinese. Twenty years before this, Germany had rejected, and worse than rejected, its classics, yet there was nothing Hesse wanted more than to have his books read in Germany.

If we knew more about Hesse's income and handling of money, it would perhaps be easier to examine any connection between his political stance and self-interested economic considerations. There are some grounds for suspecting this, as his remark in 1931 about "the blocked-off frontier between me and my income" indicates. He was and he remained dependent on Germany.

Yet he took no part in the crimes of his time. He made no concessions towards fascism; he despised anti-semitism from the beginning. He was not corruptible. He always accused the Germans of a capacity for collectively repressing unpalatable periods of their history — their tendency to see their history as beginning with the Treaty of Versailles or, later, in 1945.

They were never prepared, in his view, to face their own guilt, to analyse what they had wanted and what they had done.

Though a non-participant, he suffered more than those who participated, those who were guilty. He had no time or sympathy whatever for German intellectuals and German professors. There were honourable exceptions to this rule but he considered the majority to be turncoats and time-servers who did not shrink from the lowest form of sordidness and betrayal.

Most of these intellectuals attacked Hesse violently during the World War I, the Weimar Republic, the years of fascism and after World War 2.

It was Hesse's misfortune that he was lost without the Germans. He once remarked that he was dependent on Germany in every respect. He was a Swiss citizen when the Nazis came to power, but his readers lived under a fascist regime. These were the only people who would buy his books, and of course Hesse had to live and wanted his books to go on being read. He could not emigrate

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CINEMA

Berlin's early film festival has ambitious programme



For the first time the Berlin Film Festival has been held in February and March instead of in the summer and Chancellor Schmidt's suggestion last year that more money shold be put into the festival has meant a more ambitius programme.

Foreign critics officially invited to the festival now receive more generous expenses. (And next year there is to be a Third World Festival including films).

Children's folms were shown this year for the first time, in the city centre and the Märkischen Viertel. Films came from all over the world — Australia, the Soviet Union, the GDR (whose entry was *Ottokar der Weltverbesserer* — Ottokar the Improver of the World), and the Federal Republic of Germany, whose entry was a joint production with Austria and Czechoslovakia.

The Berlin State Film Institute, anxious to find out how children responded to the films, brought out a special badge to encourage them to attend: a colourful knitted cap costing DM7.

It is too early to say whether the daring move of switching the festival to winter (before Cannes and the rest of the international festivals) has paid off. There is no doubt that the French are annoyed; they did not send a single entry.

Film festival director Wolf Donner plays this down, saying that the International Forum, which chooses films independently of the main festival jury, has selected a number of promising French films, including works by Marguerite Duras and Jean Eustache.

There is no doubt that the gap between the International Forum and the rest of the festival is narrowing, although officially the Forum concentrates on artistically high quality films and the rest of the festival takes ordinary filmgoers into account.

The eagerly-awaited *Deutschland im Herbst* (Germany in Autumn), directed by eight directors including Fassbinder, Schlöndorff and Kluge, and the new films by Hark Bohm and Niklaus Schilling were the three German premières in the official competition.

The official entries from the Eastern Bloc countries are characterised by realistic observation of everyday life. Instead of heroes, we have a pickpocket from Bukgaria and a village rodeo rider from Jugoslavia.

The GDR's première entry is a film entitled *Jörg Ratgeb, Maler* (Jörg Ratgeb, Painter). Ratgeb turns out to be a rather dry admirer of Albrecht Dürer.

He wonders through a glaring colour landscape of the German Middle Ages, ruled by princes and the clergy. He learns the lesson that art and society cannot be considered in isolation from each another. The whole film is stiff and over-acted, neither credible nor good cinema.

In contrast, two women film-makers from Berlin and Munich convinced with their honesty and new ideas. Margarete von Trotta is already known as an actress and scriptwriter for films directed by her Husband Volker Schlöndorff. *Das zweite Erwachen* (The Second Awakening) is the first film she has directed.

It is a clever and poetic portrait of a woman. Fra Trotta does not try to distort the facts by painting an picture. She allows her heroine's perplexity to come through.

So does Helke Sander in her film *Redupers*, for which she wrote the screenplay. A hard-working press photographer fails in her search for the fully developed female personality. She cannot find it in either East or West Berlin.

The film is drier and more verbose than Trotta's, and psychologically it leaves too many questions unanswered. But it is every bit as honest.

The retrospective includes films by the Soviet author-director Vassili Schukschin, whose works were re-discovered in Berlin two years ago.

Larrissa Shepitko, who was awarded the Golden Bear in 1977, has since had her films shown in several Western countries. Four are on show here. She is also on the jury, as is Konrad Wolf, president of the GDR Academy of Arts.

There has been considerable interest



Berlin success: a scene from Helke Sander's film *Redupers*, for which she wrote the screenplay. (Photo: Basis-Film)

from Polish, Czech and Hungarian film-buying commissions, who know this is where they will find the most concentrated selection of Western films. The number of film industry professionals attending the festival has trebled.

The economic side of the festival is important and useful. The Berlin Senate has put DM5 million into it to improve the infrastructure of the Berlin film industry, build up technical units, attract film experts (who until recently could earn far more in Munich and Hamburg) and to foster investment by guaranteeing to meet part of the losses on films.

It is disappointing that this financial assistance was not given for artistic merit. The Senate film officer has announced that it will make further decisions here, but Mayor Dietrich Stobbe only made a few generalisations about the importance of film at the opening of the festival.

Later, at a reception, Stobbe explained how Berlin intended to do justice to merit. The present stipulation is that Berlin industry should profit from taking a share of the risk of producing these films. This stipulation can be dropped in the case of films of onstanding artistic merit.

Regional assistance to film-makers is based on the same principles as the federal — what counts, ultimately, is box office success rather than artistic merit.

Rainer Höynck
(Handelsblatt, 1 March 1978)

Continued from page 10

igrate — he had been living in self-imposed exile for years.

Hesse knew he could only do good if he was allowed to go on writing in peace. His writing became a strange mixture of caution and recklessness. He wrote what he thought, he did not disguise his views, he did not betray himself or others, but on the other hand he avoided an open clash with the Nazis.

Again, he fell between two stools. He was attacked by the Nazis and by the emigres, occasionally even by the Swiss. He never paid court to the Nazi criminals, but on the other hand he never publicly condemned them. Their crimes were not his.

Hesse was hurt by Thomas Mann's public declaration of solidarity with the German emigres. He felt he had lost an ally. He watched and remained silent. All he said about events in Germany was: "It is appalling."

What was happening in Germany had nothing to do with him, except that it caused him suffering. There was no group or camp he could join, because they all had elements in their philosophy which appalled him.

Hesse's incapacity to identify was such that he even contrived to break his silence long after that silence had become a mere fiction. This was not just being considerate. He had, if I may use the expression, a very sensitive soul. When, during and after World War I Germany was anathema, he made a point of not re-applying for Swiss citizenship. He also wanted to avoid the impression of denying Germany in World War 2, when it was obvious to all that she would be defeated.

There is also a section dealing with his publishers, Suhrkamp, and the loyalty of Peter Suhrkamp. This takes up far too much space, considering that most of the material is available elsewhere. It is understandable, however, that Volker Michels found the temptation irresistible.

The section dealing with Will Vesper's attacks on Hesse is more important. It brings new material to light and shows, Willy Vesper as a complete and utter rogue and Peter Suhrkamp as a hero.

This is an important chapter in the history of German fascism, as shameful as Thomas Mann's dispute with the vice-chancellor of Bonn University. It is essential that this and similar occurences should not be forgotten, essential for reasons that have to do with developments in this country since the war.

In Hermann Hesse's eyes, what happened after 1945 was a repeat of 1918. The reactionary majority of the nation made peace with itself. It integrated those, who had gone stray, it integrated Nazi criminals, leaving them in office and in some cases even appointing them to office.

On the other hand, the real anti-fascists were left in the cold. This deeply angered Hesse. By then he had stopped believing that anything would ever change and had even, wrongly as it turned out, given up all expectations of even having a wide public in this country.

For many years, his work presented those with good reason for repressing unpleasant memories with an excellent excuse for doing so. Then Hesse fell into the hands of those starting out on quests into themselves — those who had turned away in despair from politics because, like Hesse, they could not and would not become revolutionaries.

This is the most problematic aspect of *Die Politik des Gessens*. Hesse never understood any but the moral and absolute aspects of politics. He was not a thinker, not an analyst, and anything but a man of action.

This Suhrkamp edition sets him up as an example to be followed. It gets the man's political stature completely out of proportion. What we need now is a rational reassessment of our politics and our history, and Hesse can give us little help along this arduous way.

It is one thing not to have been corrupted; it is quite another to respond politically to the challenge of one's time.

As a reader, one does occasionally have the impression that Hesse adopted a truly political stance but this is because of the nature of the edition. The editor has joined Hesse's few public statements with his countless private observations in letters. Hesse always expressed himself more openly in his private letters than in public and this accounts for the false impression.

We may respect a private opinion, we may even agree with it if it is sound, but such opinions have no effect if they remain private.

There is no reason why we should ditch Hesse altogether, but the tradition on which the future of our literature depends is still struggling to make itself heard.

Hesse cannot help us here. He is not even a substitute for what we need.

Walter Boehlich
(Frankfurter Rundschau, 25 February 1978)

***Herman Hesse, Political Writings*, edited by Volker Michels, with an introduction by Golo Mann. In two volumes, 1914-1938, 1938-62. Published by Suhrkamp Verlag, 1977, pp. 955, DM 78.**

■ MEDICINE

Know your blood pressure warns hypertension group

The Americans consider high blood pressure their number one killer. Now a German specialist also feels that hypertension is by far the most important single factor governing illness and death.

It is estimated that there are six million people with hypertension in the Federal Republic of Germany. About two-thirds know of their condition and 50 per cent of them do nothing about it.

Equally dangerous is the fact that well over 30 per cent of Germans with high blood pressure know nothing about it and run the risk of lethal complications from hypertension, above all strokes, heart attacks and kidney failure.

Only greater awareness of hypertension among the public and the medical profession can remedy this situation.

This year's World Health Day on 7 April is aimed at this with its motto "Pay Attention to High Blood Pressure."

A recent two-day international hypertension symposium of the German League Against High Blood Pressure in Berlin was attended by more than 400 doctors.

It may be open to dispute whether hypertension is a disease in itself or merely a symptom, but experts agreed that untreated hypertension was inevitably followed by severe ailments, primarily heart and circulatory disorders and, in some instances, failure of the brain.

Says Zurich epidemiologist Professor F.H. Epstein: "There can be no doubt that reducing blood pressure also reduces health hazards."

Statistics provide little information on whether normalising blood pressure can prevent death through heart failure. But present studies in a number of countries, involving tens of thousands of people, will tell us whether and to what extent prophylactic hypertension treatment affects coronary ailments.

Because of the close link between high blood pressure and other diseases, Professor Epstein considers the early diagnosis of hypertension one of medicine's foremost tasks.

Special attention must be paid to the fact that latent hypertension is frequently in evidence in children and very young people. The condition deteriorates with age.

World Health Organisation (WHO) guidelines, whereby blood pressure exceeding 160 (systolic) and 95 (diasystolic) represents hypertension, are not applicable here because they do not take into account that blood pressure changes with age.

It must, however, be assumed that there is a considerable genetic susceptibility to hypertension and that additional aspects such as diet and stress have a considerable combined effect on blood pressure.

Professor Epstein advocates early diagnosis of hypertension because if caught in time it can be treated by diet, making medication or surgery unnecessary.

Information campaigns sometimes misguide the public by suggesting that regular measurements of blood pressure are the answer.

Professor Reinhard Gotzen of the Free University of Berlin's Steglitz Clinic told the symposium that diagnosing high blood pressure was not enough without knowing the reasons for it. For a rational diagnosis it was necessary to establish other risk factors such as diabetes, obesity or gout.

According to Professor Gotzen, this was important because excessive blood pressure was frequently attributable to organic causes that can be eliminated by surgery.

Secondary causes of hypertension included above all narrowing of the arteries, especially in the region of the heart and the kidneys.

But surgery is still viewed with scepticism.

Professor Rudolf Häring, also of the Steglitz Clinic, held that surgical failure had become a thing of the past, given the necessary care. But he stressed that it was impossible to predict the effects of surgery on blood pressure.

In equally large groups of hypertension sufferers observed over several years, the number of fatalities among those treated with medication amounted to 34 per cent, twice as high as those treated by surgery.

Where hypertension was not attributable to organic causes, surgery was pointless. This included so-called essential hypertension, the most common form, he said.

Professor K.H. Rahn of Maastricht University, Holland, said it would be disastrous to follow Voltaire's advice in these cases to distract the patient until nature remedied the condition.

Professor Rahn read a paper on medication against hypertension, detailing its effectiveness and side effects.

His paper concentrated on a range of drugs developed about ten years ago and famous as so-called manager and anti-stress pills.

These drugs, which protect the heart from hormones causing hypertension and from other biochemical substances, are also known to have detrimental side effects. The difficulties can be overcome with a new generation of medication known as Betar Blockers.

Dieter Dietrich

(Der Tagesspiegel, 26 February 1978)

Paternity test can provide absolute proof

On entirely new method of determining the paternity of a child with almost 100 per cent certainty has been developed by a West German specialist.

Despite the Pill and sex education, some 40,000 illigitimate children are born in West Germany every year.

In five to 10 per cent of cases the father tries to avoid paying maintenance by denying paternity.

But evasion is becoming increasingly difficult. Fewer than 10 per cent manage to slip through the finely-meshed net of modern paternity determination methods.

Finding that a man cannot be the father is easy. When the child reaches eight months its blood characteristics are such that a simple comparison with the blood of the putative father can confirm or exclude paternity.

There are some 20 hereditary blood characteristics which must coincide between father and child. But even if they coincide, this is not conclusive proof of paternity.

Science has now reached the point where it can provide conclusive proof in 95 per cent of cases. And the remaining five per cent of uncertainty is now about to be eliminated.

Professor Irmgard Oepen, a specialist in forensic medicine, described the new method in the German medical journal *Deutsches Ärzteblatt:* The chromosomes of father and child have specific characteristics missing with non-related persons.

Although the new method has still to be perfected, it is now possible to establish paternity with virtually 100 per cent certainty after the child has reached the age of three.

The most important method rests on an examination of similar physical traits. The child inherits such characteristics as the shape of the mouth, nose and ears as well as certain patterns on the palm and fingertips.

To start with, all characteristics in common with the mother are disregarded. The remaining traits provide an indication as to the father.

"If these traits are pronounced in the putative father there is every indication that he fathered the childs," says Professor Oepen.

Traits which cannot be traced to the mother or the putative father indicate that someone else must be the father.

The method is aimed not so much to secure the payment of maintenance but to satisfy the child's right to know who his father is — a right guaranteed by a law since 1970.

Despite progress in medicine, statistics show that obtaining maintenance payments is an uncertain business: half of Germany's one million illigitimate fathers successfully escape.

Frank Günther

(Welt am Sonntag, 26 February 1978)

Conference sheds new light on abnormal births

Physiologists, biochemists, pathologists, pharmacologists and doctors from Europe, the United States, Canada and Australia met at the 13th Berlin-Dahlem conference to discuss the biological basis and consequences of abnormal foetal development.

Laymen and doctors have always been fascinated by physical abnormality. Through the ages abnormality has been accompanied by superstition and wild speculation.

Today we know that it is attributable either to genetic causes or to an illness of the embryo. The genetic factors are relatively easy to ascertain.

Chromosome analysis of foetal cells enables the physician to diagnose disorders several months before birth, in good time for a legal abortion.

Considerably more problematic is the influence of environment factors on prenatal development. It has been established that they play a much greater role than originally assumed.

But only few outside factors are known to definitely have a detrimental effect. These include (apart from ionising rays) thalidomide, the German measles virus, alcohol, tobacco and lack of oxygen.

Other factors are suspected but their harmful effect is known only from animal experiments.

There are about 18,000 malformations among the 500,000 to 600,000 births a year in the Federal Republic of Germany.

On top of this, some 150,000 newborn babies show so-called varieties.

Impressive though these figures are, it must be remembered that only such malformations as Mongolism, heart defects and hair lip are of socio-medical significance.

The fact that, despite numerous factors that can influence prenatal development, the number of malformations is relatively small, indicates complicated biological regulating mechanisms which enable the mother's body to influence the development of the foetus to some extent.

The Berlin-Dahlem conference established that in at least four per cent of babies development in the womb was upset to such an extent as to reduce survival chances or make them prone to secondary disorders in later life.

Too low a birth weight drastically increases the danger to the baby. According to World Health Organisation (WHO) guidelines, all infants weighing less than 2,500 grammes at birth must be treated as as risk babies.

In few cases can science provide an exact answer on prenatal development hazards. It seems established that the placenta, the link between the mother's and the child's blood circulation, plays a decisive role.

Smoking by the mother reduces the blood supply to the womb resulting in a inadequate blood supply to the foetus. But this is not yet clearly established since it is based on observations of Australian sheep.

So far, scientists are unable to clearly determine the extent of the oxygen supply to the placenta, the link between the mother's and the child's blood circulation, plays a decisive role.

Smoking by the mother reduces the blood supply to the womb resulting in an inadequate blood supply to the foetus. But this is not yet clearly established since it is based on observations of Australian sheep.

So far, scientists are unable to clearly determine the extent of the oxygen supply to the placenta. This is a challenge to medical research, above all endocrinology and teratology.

Many questions concerning the interaction between placenta and foetus are still unanswered, and there is much to indicate that this interaction is influenced by the environment of the mother.

It was mentioned at the conference that foetus development is also affected by a hot climate or a great altitudes, the mother's diet and type of work, as well as by psychological stress. But none of this can be proved.

It has also been observed that the foetus weight is largely effected by the mother's height and weight. Cross-breeding of different sized horses has provided some information on this.

The Berlin discussions showed how little we know about the mechanisms governing miscarriage or abnormal development. *Konrad Müller-Christiansen*

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 25 February 1978)

■ EDUCATION

Hamburg system to quiet alarm over 'subjective' school marks

DIE WELT

Alarmed by recent disputes and even legal cases over the subjectivity of teachers' marks, Hamburg school authorities have come up with a new strategy to help parents and teachers judge children's ability.

A psycho-diagnostic test has been introduced for pupils in the fourth year of primary school. Its purpose is to pinpoint a pupil's achievements on a standardised marking scale and to predict the pupil's prospects at secondary school on this basis.

Parents are told that these figures are intelligence quotients, but they are not told their children's precise results. This is because absolute accuracy cannot be achieved and there are fluctuations of between one and five per cent.

Instead of explaining that the result of the test depends to some degree on the child's response to the test situation, the Hamburg authorities only tell parents whether their children's test scores are higher than their average school marks.

Parents are either told that their children are very hard-working (and this explains their good school marks) but their ability is not as high as the marks suggest — in other words, they are over-achievers.

Or else they are told that their children's school marks are poor but they did well on the test — they are under-achievers.

The third possibility is the most satisfying one for parents: school marks and test marks are identical.

What are parents to do, for example, if their child gets better marks at school than on the test? Will they reluctantly have to accept that their child is well-behaved and hard-working but they should not send him to grammar school in spite of his good results? The parents of the under-achiever are in a more fortunate position. They have to concede that their son is lazy and has poor school marks, but the test shows that he is of above-average intelligence.

If he can be persuaded to work a little harder or get private tuition, he should have no difficulty at grammar school.

The problems of test discrepancies, over-achievers and under-achievers are familiar from educational research of the 1960s, when this was one of the main issues in educational psychology. Since then assessment techniques have become more subtle, more accurate and more useful for educational advisers.

It has long been known that willingness to work, interest and ability to overcome difficulties play a more important part in success at school than mere abstract intelligence.

If assessments are based merely on intelligence quotients, there is a danger that children will conform precisely to their test results. The famous educational psychologist Robert Rosenthal showed many years ago that a teacher's treatment of a pupil played a vital part.

If the teacher believed he was dealing with an intelligent pupil, this affected his response. This in turn encouraged and reinforced the pupil and made him appear more intelligent than his fellows.

The converse applied to the poor pupil. The teacher expected little and the pupil tended to accept this and give up. He never lived up to his intellectual potential.

The majority of pupils have a more or less high degree of intelligence but they all need to work hard to meet the demands of school. Recent research has repeatedly shown that pupils with poorer test results are often more stable psychologically, more capable of coping with changes of teachers and surprise tests than their more intelligent peers. The letter are often sensitive and erratic, which makes them more vulnerable to changes and difficulties.

It is up to the primary school techer spending several years with the same class to recognise these factors in his assessment. He knows how the pupils work and how they react. He appreciates perhaps that some pupils have difficult family backgrounds, that others have missed a lot of work through illness.

It is essential that these factors should continue to be taken into account. They play a more important part in school success than the result of one intelligence test. *Birgit Homburg*

(Die Welt, 22 February 1978)

Report hits at primary schools

A group of scientists from the German Research Institute have come to the conclusion that the teaching of reading and writing in primary schools is not up to scratch.

The report is based on a forum discussion on "The state of research into legasthenia." It is highly critical of the fact that just about any reading or writing problem in schools these days is attributed to legasthenia. The concept of legasthenia, the report says, has not yet been satisfactorily defined.

The majority of contributors believe that the number of so-called legasthenic children in schools would drop spectacularly if the standard and flexibility of teaching of reading and writing rose.

The experts believe that improved teacher training is absolutely vital.

"Not until these standards have improved will we be able to tell whether pupils, despite average to good intelligence quotients and interesting and competent teaching, still have serious difficulty learning to read and write."

These children would be classed as legasthenic and need special teaching. The authors of the report say that cooperation between doctors, psychologists, speech therapists and teachers is necessary to overcome the problems of children with reading and writing difficulties. *Michael Hirz*

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 1 March 1978)

Graduate glut?
Graduates per 1,000 working people
1970 55
1975 61
1980 73-76
1985 89-92
Estimated

Student intake fall in 1977

The Federal Statistical Office's report for 1977 shows that the number of freshmen at German universities dropped last year.

A total of 165,000 students matriculated in the summer and winter semesters of 1977, a drop of 0.7 per cent against 1976.

The number of men students was 7.1 per cent lower, while the number of women first-year students rose by 11.5 per cent.

The Wiesbaden office's report says 138.000 students started courses in the winter semester of 1977, a drop of 1.1 per cent against 1976. *dpa*

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 1 March 1978)

Big entry for history prize

More than 500 pupils entered the German President's German history prize competition last year, says the Kurt Körber Foundation of Hamburg which held the contest for the fourth time last year.

The number of entrants was far higher than in the past.

The essay subject was The Changing World of Work and Technology. There was a good spread of entrants in the various age groups ranging from 11 to 21, though the 14 to 15 group was the largest.

A total of DM250,000 will be awarded to the winners.

The essays and projects are still being assessed. The subjects of previous prize competitions were: The German Revolution of 1948/49, From Empire to Republic 1918/19 and The New Beginning, 1945/46. *dpa*

(Kieler Nachrichten, 28 February 1978)

Clinic experiment to counter high drop-out rate

The University of Hamburg is running an experimental psychotherapeutic clinic for students in an effort to counter a national student drop-out rate of one in four and the fact that 20 to 30 per cent of students change subjects at least once.

With university places costing an average of DM17,000 each, these figures from the Cologne Institute of Germany Industry and the Federal and States commission on educational planning have caused some alarm.

The Hamburg Senate, reporting on its university plan, said that unless a solution was found universities would not be able to function effectively.

Hamburg started its student advice project within the framework of the general student counselling service in October 1976. It is financed by the City of Hamburg and the Bonn Ministry of Education.

In their recently published interim report, educationists and psychologists have stressed that student counselling should not merely provide information but should cater for the specific individual needs of students.

Students go through a crisis in which society considers them to be still learning and incapable of providing for themselves, while on the other hand they are adults. In addition there is enormous pressure to get good degrees after an education lasting up to 20 years.

More than 1000 students a year come to the counselling centre seeking advice. The report deals with 817 of them. Most complained of problems studying and concentrating, orientation and identity problems, depression and inability to make contact. Two-thirds of the 384 women and 433 men students ticked several of these problems on the questionnaires.

Frequently, students have learning difficulties and social problems. Forty-seven per cent of these students were given psychotherapeutic advice within the student counselling framework.

Most of them took part in therapy groups, each one dealing with a specific problem. This form of therapy has already proved successful but a final assessment will not be made until the study is completed at the end of 1980.

Apart from the social problems, a major cause of failure and frustration seems to be lack of information. Only 25 per cent of 1192 pupils were sure they had chosen the right subject or knew definitely what subject they wanted to switch to.

If this sample is representative, it would mean, in the words of the report, "that three out of four students are likely either to change courses or to break off their studies."

At present, sixth form leavers are being questioned about their course choices. The result will provide further useful information on this important topic. *dpa*

(Handelsblatt, 24 February 1978)

'Open' university course changes

The *Fernuniversität* of Hagen — a kind of Open University — has 11,600 students for the academic year 1978–79.

The university accepts pupils with the *Abitur,* the university entrance qualification, and those unable to take a final examination. The university plans to extend its range of subjects. In future students taking pedagogical sciences will be able to take courses in sociology, politics, history, literature and history of art. Those taking natural sciences will be able to choose from biology, chemistry and physics. *dpa*

(Die Welt, 24 February 1978)

■ SOCIETY

Course teaches drivers to beat terror attacks



A Bavarian farmer has found a profitable use for a spare piece of land. He rents a field to a school training company drivers to handle terrorist attacks.

As the heavy cars race across the rough terrain, braking with screeching tyres and mud flying in all directions, the farmer rubs his hands, for he collects DM5 per car and hour.

The men at the steering wheels are all drivers of top executives being trained by the Bavarian Society for Safety in Business (BVSW).

In five-day courses the drivers learn how to survive terrorist attacks.

The object is to spare these men the fate of Heinz Marcisz, killed in the terrorist kidnapping of industrialist Hanns-Martin Schleyer in Cologne on 5 September 1977.

Asmund Gahl, 63, an automotive engineer, is in charge of the anti-terrorist training.

The course has been studded with obstacles ~~through which the chauffeurs~~ have to execute their U-turns with Herr Gahl shouting at them through a megaphone: "Pull your handbrake... compensate with the steering wheel... dammit, you'll never learn."

Herr Gahl's pupils exchange their grey flannel uniforms for blue jeans. Their training is not only hard on them but also on the car.

Says Günter Brückmann, 43, driver for an insurance company director for 22 years: "1,000 kilometres' training does more harm to the car than 10,000 kilometres' normal driving. A complete overhaul is a must after such an ordeal."

"Two days' training and the shock absorbers have had it," says the driver of a Mercedes 350 SEL. "If I drove like this in the normal course I wouldn't last five minutes in my job."

To spare his car, a clever company director decided to let his driver do the course in a rented model.

At day's end, the drivers meet in the hotel lounge to discuss their programme. Some complain that they had to simulate an emergency situation at night, their headlights turned off, fleeing from an attacker.

"Never heard of such nonsense," says one of the drivers, seconded by his colleagues. "I grope along in the dark while the terrorists are after me with blazing headlights."

In a classroom at the Neubiberg military airfield, Franz Xaver Königseder, 30, an ex-policeman and now a lawyer, teaches the men how to recognise an impending attack.

He points to the fact that Hanns-Martin Schleyer's driver failed to evaluate the situation. A properly trained driver, he maintains, would have survived.

Herr Königseder shows slides, using them to explain the Ten Commandments of a safety-conscious driver, the most important being to check the car for boobytraps. Here a slide shows the remains of Judge Wolfgang Buddenberg's VW, ripped to pieces by a terrorist bomb. The judge's wife, at the wheel at the time, was badly injured.

Crashes are practised in old cars in a section of the airfield.

Herr Gahl's advice in case of a terrorist attack is not to let the attacker's car push you off the road: "Dont step on the brakes when you're being jockeyed."

He advises the drivers to be familiar with self-defence legislation in case they have to use their cars as weapons. "If the worst comes to the worst, terrorists have to be run down."

A training course costs DM975 for members and DM1,250 for non-members of BVSW. Present membership is 85.

Major companies such as Siemens and BMW pay dues of between DM300 and DM3,500, depending on the number of staff members.

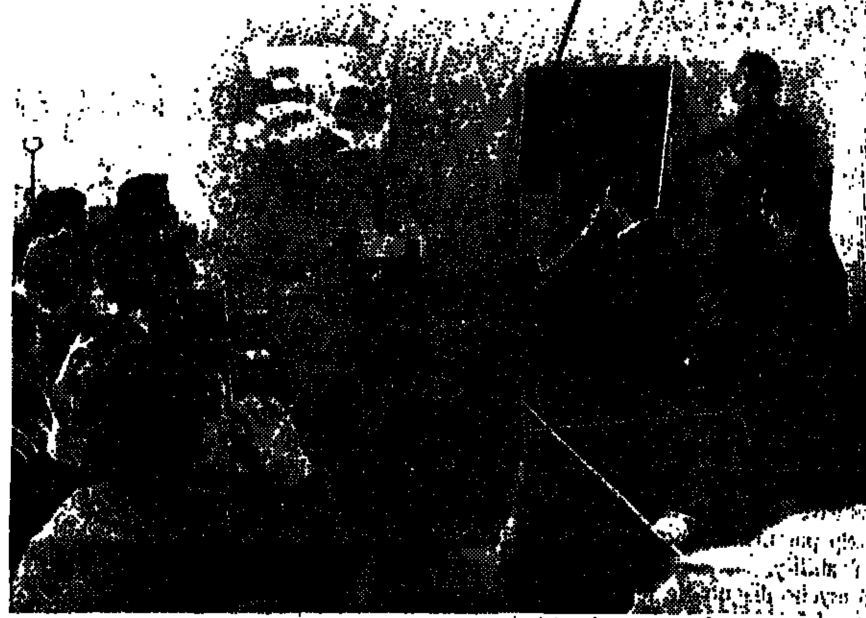
Since the assassinations of Chief Federal Prosecutor Siegfried Buback, the banker Jürgen Ponto and Hanns-Martin Schleyer, the BVSW courses have been over-subscribed. Although the society also offers other services such as security analyses, the driver courses are the draw and with a waiting list of over 300.

Drivers cannot apply themselves. "We accept only company applications in order to prevent terrorists from enlisting and learning the few tricks they might not yet know," says the society.

The courses will be expanded in the spring, with special training for executives themselves and their wives.

Hanns-Werner Loose

(Welt am Sonntag, 26 February 1978)



Company drivers study a slide of a hijack as part of their course in beating terrorist attacks. (Photo: Winfried Rabanus)

Porn Act legal 'but badly put'

The Pornography Law governing the distribution of porno literature and the showing of blue movies, relaxed four years ago, is not unconstitutional but only unfortunately formulated, the *Bundesverfassungsgericht*, the Federal Constitutional Court, has ruled.

According to law, blue movies may be shown publicly if the admission fee is not paid primarily for the show but for some other purpose such as the purchase of literature or records.

The law is so ambiguous that a number of courts have issued different rulings.

One instance involved a cinema owner who charged an admission fee of DM12: five deutschmarks for the film and seven for a porno magazine.

The man had abided by the law by charging the smaller amount for the film, but the court ruled against him on the grounds that the law was unconstitutional.

The Constitutional Court has now ruled that the law is constitutional, but it left no doubt that the showing of porno movies is punishable if done under the cloak of a bonus on the purchase of other material. The lawmakers will now have to remedy the matter.

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 24 February 1978)

Nudity no crime court holds

Twice in a row a 56-year-old Bremen postwoman delivered mail to a man who opened the door totally nude.

The postwoman took legal action, but the court ruled in favour of the man.

On 8 December 1976 and on 8 January 1977 the postwoman delivered letters which needed the young man's signature.

According to the man, she rang the bell both times in a way similar to a close friend of his. He therefore thought nothing about going to the door naked. When he realised his mistake he hid the lower part of his body behind the door.

The postwoman's version differs. "I saw him in toto," she said.

The public prosecutor and the judge wanted to know whether the man had said anything insulting or done anything. The postwoman said "he acted as if he were fully dressed."

The man's lawyer raised the question "Is nakedness in itself punishable – especially if the naked person behaves as if he were fully clad? Tactlessness and bad upbringing are not punishable by law."

The judge pointed to the pornographic literature that can be had anywhere and ruled that nakedness alone was not an offence.

Lilo Weinsheimer

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 24 February 1978)

Court won't hear parapsychologist

The *Bundesgerichtshof* (BGH), West Germany's highest court, has ruled that parapsychology and its findings are not permissible as evidence in court proceedings.

The First Criminal Panel of the BGH held that parapsychological phenomena cannot be proved and are a matter of "faith or superstition."

The court thus turned down the appeal of a defence attorney who wanted the parapsychologist Hans Bender to give evidence.

The case involved Kurt Seifert, 31, sentenced to 14 years in prison for killing Leni Hof, 24, missing since September 1975. No corpse has been found.

Seifert's lawyer appealed to the BGH because the lower court refused to permit a parapsychologist to testify. According to the lawyer, a fortune teller with the gift of telepathy could have helped in the search for the body.

dpa

(Münchner Merkur, 23 February 1978)

Convent brew

Sister Dogobert of the convent brewery in Ursberg, Swabia, picks up one of the 40,000 crates of beer the brewery produces. (Photo: Sven Simon)

■ SPORT

Nine racing round world in one (hired) boat

Whitbread's round-the-world yacht race, sponsored by the London brewers, is helping to promote the idea of European integration.

The 15 competitors who set sail last August included a yacht named *Traité de Rome* after the 1957 treaty setting up the original six-member Common Market.

The yacht and its international crew, still very much in the running, are due back in England along with the other Whitbread Trophy entrants this Easter.

The idea of symbolising the economic fact that the Nine are now in the same boat is the brainchild of a Belgian woman journalist.

She set up a group known as Sail for Europe and was showered with praise by national and international authorities and Common Market institutions. But few followed up with cash.

The group had originally intended to buy the successful Düsseldorf yacht *Pinta*, but had only enough money to charter her for the race.

Which is why the European Community is represented in the Whitebread Trophy by a hired craft which also happens to be the smallest entrant.

Yet weighted according to size the *Traité de Rome* is currently third in a field of 15, an excellent performance.

The crew of nine were chosen from about 250 applicants. But before the yacht could set sail the organisers had to cope with red tape.

Society registration law differs from country to country, as do tax concessions on donations to charity and other no less important paperwork.

Even the law of the sea scotched the original intention of sailing the *Traité de Rome* under a green and white European ensign.

The yacht is chartered and the owner is German, and as for the European ensign, it does not legally exist.

So a yacht built in Holland to a British design, captained by a Belgian, named in French after the Italian capital is on the last lap of a round-the-world race crewed by all nine EEC nationalities.

It may have to fly the German ensign, but this is not felt to be too upsetting. By the race rules the ensign only has to be flown when a yacht withdraws.

Should the *Traité de Rome* have to abandon its attempt to circumnavigate the globe there were, cynics argued, worse flags it might fly than the German black, red and gold.

So the European ensign now flies where a yacht normally sports its club pennant, but the regatta organisers allowed the Euroyacht to use the sail number EUR 1.

The crew of nine, including two women, has included all nine EEC nationalities. An Irishman, the only nationality not previously represented, joined the last lap starting in Rio de Janeiro on 22 February.

Crew members converse in English, French and the international jargon of seafarers. Yet despite heavy going round Cape Horn which put the yacht's electronics out of action, the ship's doctor, a German, only had to take emergency action once.

Midway between Cape Town and Australia an Italian crewman scalded himself when he opened a pressure cooker of spaghetti too early.

Women crew members are not only sailing on board the *Traité de Rome*; the master of a British entry, the *ADC Accutrac*, is a woman, while the navigator of another yacht is a South Seas beauty called Naomi.

You can cruise on board her yacht for a mere DM16,000 for the eight-month round-the-world trip — although all you get to see, apart from oceans of blue, are Cape Town, Auckland, Rio de Janeiro and Portsmouth.

The future of the *Traité de Rome* is uncertain. The charter runs until this summer, so the yacht will no doubt enter for a number of smaller regattas.

If the cash is forthcoming the yacht may even be bought to continue flying the flag of a united Europe — but mainly nearer home, in the North Sea.

Michael Wesener

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 1 March 1978)

Treaty of Rome, entered by a group called Sail for Europe to celebrate the founding of the Common Market in 1957 and crewed by representatives from all nine EEC countries, sweeps into Table Bay, Cape Town, after a leg of the Whitbread round-the-world race. (Photo: David Baker)

Home-straight Brigitte is set for fastest season

Eleven years ago Josef Kraus, a train driver from Bensberg, near Cologne, was sent a letter by his daughter Brigitte's schoolteacher.

"Your daughter shows real promise on the track. If I were you I should let her join the track athletics section of a sports club," Herr Kraus was told.

Brigitte is now 21 and the star of the season in the red and white colours of ASV, her Cologne club.

Already this season she has run the world's fastest indoor kilometre. Her 2 min. 34.8 sec. in Dortmund was a new indoor world record and a big improvement on the previous record of 2 min. 4o.2 sec., set up by Francis Larrieu of the United States.

"A record is a record, whether indoors or outdoors," said Brigitte Kraus, "and you certainly don't break one the way I did in Dortmund every day of the week."

She looks proud as she says this, seemingly growing taller than her true (and fairly impressive) height of 1.80 metres (5ft 11in).

Brigitte has every reason to be proud of her track record. In addition to her indoor world record she has broken three indoor national records in the space of three weeks: the 800 metres in 2 min. 1.7 sec., the 1,500 metres in 4 min. 12 sec. and the 3,000 metres in 9 min. 10.4 sec.

How does she rate her prospects outdoors this summer? "Under two, four and nine minutes," she replies without hesitation.

Her trainer Lutz Müller, son of former motorcycle world champion H.P.Müller, is keen to improve Brigitte's basic speed. "I don't want to know what my time for the 100 metres is," she agrees.

Last year she tended to overreach herself, since she was suffering from sinus trouble which affected both her training and her track form.

At present she is suffering from the after-effects of a bout of 'flu but is back in training. At 8am she is out for a brisk half-hour and late in the afternoon she runs 12 kilometres flat out round Cologne (in 42 minutes or so).



Brigitte Kraus

(Photo: Sven Simon)

In between she goes to work like anyone else, in Brigitte's case six hours a day as a draughtsman.

Her daily routine consists of running, drawing and running, leaving her little time for other leisure pursuits. "Why," she exclaims, "does sport not count?"

The Kraus family are all sport-minded. Sister Martina, 14, plays basketball. Brother Detlef, 15, is a medium-distance runner. Her other brother Edgar, also 15, is a promising high-jumper who has cleared 1.93 metres (6ft 4in).

But so far Brigitte *leads* the field, if only metaphorically, since on the track she tends to hang back, overtaking the others on the home straight as Harald Norpoth used to do.

She is used to jibes at this habit but says she is somehow worried by the idea of being a front runner.

She will no doubt grow out of the habit, since she aims to challenge the world's best over the 1,500 metres, which is a distance where tactics can be all-important.

She has no plans to compete seriously in the 3,000 metres. "I should have to keep on running until age 35," Brigitte Kraus says, "and I cannot see myself doing that."

Klaus Blume

(Die Welt, 21 February 1978)

EEC soccer is now a free-for-all

Association football in the Common Market countries has come to terms with Brussels and is to waive all restrictions on employment within the EEC for professional soccer players.

The nine football associations and Roy Jenkins' European Commission agreed to a compromise following two rulings by the European Court of Justice.

In most countries there will be no basic changes in the hiring of foreign players, but Italy will have to lift a total ban on foreign players in force for a decade.

Professional soccer has agreed to abide by the Treaty of Rome provision that workers from other EEC countries must enjoy the same rights as a Common Market country's own nationals.

By next season the soccer associations have agreed to draft new regulations allowing clubs to sign on as many players from other EEC countries as they like.

In practice the change will make little or no difference next season in this country, since the *Deutscher Fussball-Bund*, Frankfurt, has decreed that for the time being there will be no change in the rules governing the number of foreign players fielded in any league fixture.

In the First Division and the Second Division North and South of the *Bundesliga* clubs will still be allowed two nationals of other EEC countries in a match.

The Common Market Commission in Brussels would like to see this 'transitional arrangement' superseded as soon as possible but no deadlines have been fixed.

Football associations in the EEC countries met the Commission half-way on this point, agreeting to consider players from the Nine as equivalent to their own nationals after they have been under contract for five years.

What is more, Common Market nationals who live with their families in another EEC country are to be treated as 'nationals' for team selection.

This agreement marks the end of years of dispute during which the EEC Commission has held the better cards — legally at least.

The European Court of Justice ruled in 1974 that professional soccer players were to be deemed employees by the terms of the Treaty of Rome and entitled to freedom of employment within the Common Market.

Wilhelm Hadler

(Die Welt, 25 February 1978)